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Publication Number Twenty-one

OF THE

ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL LIBRARY

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

Illinois State Historical Society

FOR THE YEAR 1915

Sixteenth Annual Meeting of the Society, Springfield,
Illinois, May 13-14, 1915

Board of Trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library

[Printed by authority of the State of Illinois.]



SPRINGFIELD, ILL.
ILLINOIS STATE JOURNAL CO., STATE PRINTERS.
1916

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OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY.

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First Vice President.

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Second Vice President.

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..... Carbondale

WILLIAM A. MEESE Moline

RICHARD V. CARPENTER Belvidere

EDWARD C. PAGE, Northern Illinois State Normal School..... DeKalb

J. W. CLINTON Polo

ANDREW RUSSEL Jacksonville

WALTER COLYER Albion

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H. W. CLENDENIN Springfield

Secretary and Treasurer.

MRS. JESSIE PALMER WEBER Springfield

Honorary Vice Presidents.

The Presidents of Local Historical Societies.



EDITORIAL NOTE.

Following the practice of the Publication Committee in previous years, this volume includes, besides the official proceedings and the papers read at the last annual meeting, some essays and other matter contributed during the year. It is hoped that these "contributions to State History" may, in larger measure as the years go on, deserve their title, and form an increasingly valuable part of the society's transactions. The contributions are intended to include the following kinds of material:

1. Hitherto unpublished letters and other documentary material. This part of the volume should supplement the more formal and extensive publication of official records in the Illinois historical collections, which are published by the trustees of the State Historical Library.

2. Papers of a reminiscent character. These should be selected with great care, for memories and reminiscences are at their best an uncertain basis for historical knowledge.

3. Historical essays or brief monographs, based upon the sources and containing genuine contributions to knowledge. Such papers should be accompanied by foot-notes indicating with precision the authorities upon which the papers are based. The use of new and original material and the care with which the authorities are cited, will be one of the main factors in determining the selection of papers for publication.

4. Bibliographies.

5. Occasional reprints of books, pamphlets, or parts of books now out of print and not easily accessible.

Circular letters have been sent out from time to time urging the members of the society to contribute such historical material, and appeals for it have been issued in the pages of the *Journal*. The committee desires to repeat and emphasize these requests.

It is the desire of the committee that this annual publication of the society shall supplement, rather than parallel or rival, the distinctly official publications of the *State Historical Library*. In historical research, as in so many other fields, the best results are likely to be achieved through the co-operation of private initiative with public authority. It was to promote such co-operation and mutual undertaking that this society was organized. Teachers of history, whether in schools or colleges, are especially urged to do their part in bringing to this publication the best results of local research and historical scholarship.

In conclusion it should be said that the views expressed in the various papers are those of their respective authors and not necessarily those of the committee. Nevertheless, the committee will be glad to receive such corrections of fact or such general criticism as may appear to be deserved.

CONSTITUTION OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

ARTICLE I—NAME AND OBJECTS.

SECTION 1. The name of this society shall be the ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

SEC. 2. The objects for which it is formed are to excite and stimulate a general interest in the history of Illinois; to encourage historical research and investigation and secure its promulgation; to collect and preserve all forms of data in any way bearing upon the history of Illinois and its peoples.

ARTICLE II—OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY—THEIR ELECTION AND DUTIES.

SECTION 1. The management of the affairs of this society shall be vested in a board of fifteen directors, of which board the president of the society shall be ex officio a member.

SEC. 2. There shall be a president and as many vice-presidents, not less than three, as the society may determine at the annual meetings. The board of directors, five of whom shall constitute a quorum, shall elect its own presiding officer, a secretary and treasurer, and shall have power to appoint from time to time such officers, agents and committees as they may deem advisable, and to remove the same at pleasure.

SEC. 3. The directors shall be elected at the annual meetings and the mode of election shall be by ballot, unless by a vote of a majority of members present and entitled to vote, some other method may be adopted.

SEC. 4. It shall be the duty of the board of directors diligently to promote the objects for which this society has been formed and to this end they shall have power:

(1) To search out and preserve in permanent form for the use of the people of the State of Illinois, facts and data in the history of the State and of each county thereof, including the pre-historic periods and the history of the aboriginal inhabitants, together with biographies of distinguished persons who have rendered services to the people of the State.

(2) To accumulate and preserve for like use, books, pamphlets, newspapers and documents bearing upon the foregoing topics.

(3) To publish from time to time for like uses its own transactions as well as such facts and documents bearing upon its objects as it may secure.

(4) To accumulate for like use such articles of historic interest as may bear upon the history of persons and places within the State.

(5) To receive by gift, grant, devise, bequest or purchase, books, prints, paintings, manuscripts, libraries, museums, moneys and other property, real or personal, in aid of the above objects.

(6) They shall have general charge and control under the direction of the Board of Trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library, of all property so received and hold the same for the uses aforesaid in accordance with an Act of the Legislature approved May 16, 1903, entitled, "An Act to add a new section to an Act entitled, 'An Act to establish the Illinois State Historical Library and to provide for its care and maintenance, and to make appropriations therefor,'" approved May 25, 1889, and in force July 1, 1889; they shall make and approve all contracts, audit all accounts and order their payment, and in general see to the carrying out of the orders of the society. They may adopt by-laws not inconsistent with this constitution for the management of the affairs of the society; they shall fix the times and places for their meetings; keep a record of their proceedings, and make report to the society at its annual meeting.

SEC. 5. Vacancies in the board of directors may be filled by election by the remaining members, the persons so elected to continue in office until the next annual meeting.

SEC. 6. The president shall preside at all meetings of the society, and in case of his absence or inability to act, one of the vice-presidents shall preside in his stead, and in case neither president nor vice-president shall be in attendance, the society may choose a president pro tempore.

SEC. 7. The officers shall perform the duties usually devolving upon such offices, and such others as may from time to time be prescribed by the society or the board of directors. The treasurer shall keep a strict account of all receipts and expenditures and pay out money from the treasury only as directed by the board of directors; he shall submit an annual report of the finances of the society and such other matters as may be committed to his custody to the board of directors within such time prior to the annual meeting as they shall direct, and after auditing the same the said board shall submit said report to the society at its annual meeting.

ARTICLE III—MEMBERSHIP.

SECTION 1. The membership of this society shall consist of five classes, to wit: Active, Life, Affiliated, Corresponding, and Honorary.

SEC. 2. Any person may become an active member of this society upon payment of such initiation fee not less than one dollar, as shall from time to time be prescribed by the board of directors.

SEC. 3. Any person entitled to be an active member may, upon payment of twenty-five dollars, be admitted as a life member with all the privileges of an active member and shall thereafter be exempt from annual dues.

SEC. 4. County and other historical societies, and other societies engaged in historical or archæological research or in the preservation of the knowledge of historic events, may, upon the recommendation of the board of directors, be admitted as affiliated members of this society upon the same terms as to the payment of initiation fees and annual dues as active and life members. Every society so admitted shall be entitled to

one duly credited representative at each meeting of the society, who shall, during the period of his appointment, be entitled as such representative to all the privileges of an active member except that of being elected to office; but nothing herein shall prevent such representative becoming an active or life member upon like conditions as other persons.

SEC. 5. Persons not active nor life members but who are willing to lend their assistance and encouragement to the promotion of the objects of this society, may, upon recommendation of the board of directors, be admitted as corresponding members.

SEC. 6. Honorary membership may be conferred at any meeting of the society upon the recommendation of the board of directors upon persons who have distinguished themselves by eminent services or contributions to the cause of history.

SEC. 7. Honorary and corresponding members shall have the privilege of attending and participating in the meetings of the society.

ARTICLE IV—MEETINGS AND QUORUM.

SECTION 1. There shall be an annual meeting of this society for the election of officers, the hearing of reports, addresses and historical papers and the transaction of business at such time and place in the month of May in each year as may be designated by the board of directors, for which meeting it shall be the duty of said board of directors to prepare and publish a suitable program and procure the services of persons well versed in history to deliver addresses or read essays upon subjects germane to the objects of this organization.

SEC. 2. Special meetings of the society may be called by the board of directors. Special meetings of the boards of directors may be called by the president or any two members of the board.

SEC. 3. At any meeting of the society the attendance of ten members entitled to vote shall be necessary to a quorum.

ARTICLE V—AMENDMENTS.

SECTION 1. The constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote of the members present and entitled to vote, at any annual meeting: *Provided*, that the proposed amendment shall have first been submitted to the board of directors, and at least thirty days prior to such annual meeting notice of proposed action upon the same, sent by the secretary to all the members of the society.

AN APPEAL TO THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY AND THE GENERAL PUBLIC.

OBJECTS OF COLLECTION DESIRED BY THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL LIBRARY AND SOCIETY.

(Members please read this circular letter.)

Books and pamphlets on American history, biography, and genealogy, particularly those relating to the West; works on Indian tribes, and American archæology and ethnology; reports of societies and institutions of every kind, educational, economic, social, political, co-operative, fraternal, statistical, industrial, charitable; scientific publications of states or societies; books or pamphlets relating to the great rebellion, and the wars with the Indians; privately printed works; newspapers; maps and charts; engravings; photographs; autographs; coins; antiquities; encyclopedias, dictionaries, and bibliographical works. Especially do we desire

EVERYTHING RELATING TO ILLINOIS.

1. Every book or pamphlet on any subject relating to Illinois, or any part of it; also every book or pamphlet written by an Illinois citizen, whether published in Illinois or elsewhere; materials for Illinois history; old letters, journals.

2. Manuscripts; narratives of the pioneers of Illinois; original papers on the early history and settlement of the territory; adventures and conflicts during the early settlement, the Indian troubles, or the late rebellion; biographies of the pioneers; prominent citizens and public men of every county, either living or deceased, together with their portraits and autographs; a sketch of the settlements of every township, village, and neighborhood in the State, with the names of the first settlers. We solicit articles on every subject connected with Illinois history.

3. City ordinances, proceedings of mayor and council; reports of committees of council; pamphlets or papers of any kind printed by authority of the city; reports of boards of trade; maps of cities and plats of town sites or of additions thereto.

4. Pamphlets of all kinds; annual reports of societies; sermons or addresses delivered in the State; minutes of church conventions, synods, or other ecclesiastical bodies of Illinois; political addresses; railroad reports; all such, whether published in pamphlet or newspaper.

5. Catalogues and reports of colleges and other institutions of learning; annual or other reports of school boards, school superintendents, and school committees; educational pamphlets, programs and papers of every kind, no matter how small or apparently unimportant.

6. Copies of the earlier laws, journals and reports of our territorial and State legislatures; earlier Governor's messages and reports of State officers; reports of State charitable and other State institutions.

7. Files of Illinois newspapers and magazines, especially complete volumes of past years, or single numbers even. Publishers are earnestly requested to contribute their publications regularly, all of which will be carefully preserved and bound.

8. Maps of the State, or of counties or townships, of any date; views and engravings of buildings or historic places; drawings or photographs of scenery; paintings; portraits, etc., connected with Illinois history.

9. Curiosities of all kinds; coins; medals; paintings; portraits; engravings; statuary; war relics; autograph letters of distinguished persons, etc.

10. Facts illustrative of our Indian tribes—their history, characteristics, religion, etc.; sketches of prominent chiefs, orators and warriors, together with contributions of Indian weapons, costumes, ornaments, curiosities, and implements; also, stone axes, spears, arrow heads, pottery, or other relics.

In brief, everything that, by the most liberal construction, can illustrate the history of Illinois, its early settlement, its progress, or present condition. All will be of interest to succeeding generations. Contributions will be credited to the donors in the published reports of the library and society, and will be carefully preserved in the State house as the property of the State, for the use and benefit of the people for all time.

Communications or gifts may be addressed to the librarian and secretary.

(Mrs.) JESSIE PALMER WEBER.

PART I

Record of Official Proceedings

1915



ANNUAL MEETING OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, MAY 13-14, 1915.

The annual meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society was held in the Supreme Court Chamber in the Illinois State Supreme Court Building at Springfield, on Thursday and Friday, May 13-14, 1915.

The president of the society, Dr. Otto L. Schmidt, presided at all sessions.

The annual business meeting of the society was held on Friday morning when reports of officers and committees were presented and the annual election of officers was held. There were no changes in the officers. The program as published was carried out. The annual address was delivered by Rabbi Emil G. Hirsch of Chicago. The subject of Dr. Hirsch's address was "Historical Thinking." President John W. Cook of the Northern Illinois State Normal School at DeKalb delivered an address on the life of the late Hon. Adlai E. Stevenson.

The program as presented is as follows:

SUPREME COURT ROOM.

ORDER OF EXERCISES.

THURSDAY MORNING, MAY 13, 1915, 10 o'CLOCK.

Address—A Group of Stories of American Indians—The Silver Covenant Chain; The Story the Medals Tell; Shabbona's Ride—Miss Lotte E. Jones, Danville, Ill.

Address—Illinois in the Civil War—Dr. Charles B. Johnson, Champaign, Ill.

Address—The Relation of Illinois Railroads to the Passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act—Professor Frank E. Hodder, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kans.

THURSDAY AFTERNOON, 2:30 o'CLOCK.

Address—Lake Michigan's Illinois Coast—Mr. J. Seymour Currey, President Evanston Historical Society, Evanston, Ill.

Address—The Old Confederate Prison at Rock Island, Ill.—Mr. Sherman W. Searle, Editor Rock Island Union, Rock Island, Ill.

Address—Old Yellow Banks—Mr. James Gordon, Oquawka, Ill.

Address—Duden and His Critics—Miss Jessie J. Kile, University of Illinois.

THURSDAY EVENING, 8 o'CLOCK.

Annual Address—Historical Thinking—Rabbi Emil G. Hirsch, Chicago.
Reception.

FRIDAY MORNING, 9 o'CLOCK.

Directors' Meeting in the office of the Secretary of the Society.

10 o'clock—Business Meeting of the Society in the Supreme Court Room.

Reports of Officers.

Reports of Committees.

Miscellaneous Business.

Election of Officers.

FRIDAY AFTERNOON, 2:30 o'CLOCK.

Address—Jesse W. Fell—Miss Frances Morehouse, Normal, Ill.

Address—The Banker-Farmer Movement for a Better Agriculture and Rural Life—Mr. B. F. Harris, Champaign, Ill.

Address—Indian Treaties Affecting Lands in the Present State of Illinois—Mr. Frank R. Grover, Evanston, Ill.

FRIDAY EVENING, 8 o'CLOCK.

Address—The Life and Services of Adlai E. Stevenson—President John W. Cook, Northern Illinois State Normal School, DeKalb, Ill.

Address—The Assassination of Abraham Lincoln—Mr. Henry R. Rathbone, Chicago.

BUSINESS MEETING OF THE SOCIETY, FRIDAY MORNING, MAY, 14, 1915.

The annual business meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society was held in the Supreme Court Building, Friday morning, May 14, 1915, Dr. O. L. Schmidt, presiding.

The secretary read her report. Approved. Placed on file.

Captain Burnham asked that report be made of a motion which has been passed by the directors in relation to a meeting of this committee before the Appropriation Committee of the State Legislature on Wednesday next.

Dr. Schmidt suggested that a vote of thanks be given to Judge Cartwright and his associates in permitting the society to use the Supreme Court room for the annual meeting. This suggestion was adopted.

Dr. Johnson moved that a vote of thanks be given to the ladies who designed the basket of flowers used for the decoration of the room. Dr. Schmidt proposed that it be photographed. Seconded. Carried.

Captain Burnham submitted the report of the society's G. A. R. Committee. Approved. Placed on file.

Dr. Greene spoke of the work of the library in the past year in publishing historical material, dwelling especially on the work in the archives of the 102 counties of the State.

Mrs. Weber submitted the report of the Treasurer, and explained that as the fiscal year was confusing to some of the members of the society, it was decided some time ago to change back to the calendar year, and that the report submitted covered the period up to January 1, 1915. Report:

Balance on hand.....	\$105 00
Annual dues.....	523 00
Total	\$628 00
Expenses—	
Postage on Journal.....	\$205 00
Expenses of Trustees.....	73 85
Expenses of annual meeting, reception, speakers, etc...	208 75
Total expenses.....	487 60

Balance on hand..... \$140 40

Dr. Schmidt moved that the report of the Treasurer be received and placed on file. Motion carried.

Miss Georgia L. Osborne read the report of the Genealogical Committee. Approved. Placed on file.

Mrs. Weber spoke for the Program Committee and of the help received from members who heretofore, had not shown much interest in the matter.

Dr. Schmidt suggested that Rabbi Emil G. Hirsch of Chicago, be made an honorary member of the society. This was done.

Mr. Russel moved that the constitution of the society be considered anew and that a committee consisting of Dr. Schmidt, Captain Burnham, Prof. Page and Dr. Rammelkamp be appointed to examine same and report at next annual meeting.

Prof. Page spoke on Mr. Russel's motion and said the committee should look into the constitution and method of procedure of the society and if there was any change that should be made, to note it, and report to the next meeting of the society.

Dr. Schmidt asked that some one make the motion that Mr. Russel be made a member of the committee also. Motion made. Seconded. Carried.

Capt. Burnham made some remarks relating to the past and future of the society and spoke of writing a paper on same for the next meeting of the society.

Mrs. Weber spoke of the gift to the society of a valuable letter from Benjamin Godfrey to Theron Baldwin, dated Vandalia, 1837. Presented to the Illinois State Historical Society May 14, 1915, by Mrs. Martha Gilson Herdmann and asked Prof. Rammelkamp to give a short history of Mr. Godfrey.

Prof. Rammelkamp gave a short talk on Benjamin Godfrey and Theron Baldwin, telling of their work in founding Monticello Seminary, etc.

Dr. Schmidt asked that a vote of thanks be given to the donor of the letter. Motion offered. Carried.

Mr. Perrin spoke of the invitation of the Chicago Commercial Association to the Illinois State Historical Society to hold the next annual meeting in Chicago and asked that it might be taken up by the Board of Directors.

Dr. Schmidt spoke of the invitation and said it might be decided to hold the next meeting of the society in some town of historic interest, not Chicago.

Capt. Burnham gave a short talk on Fort Gage or Fort Kaskaskia.

Mr. Hauberg moved that officers be elected.

Gov. Yates asked if any further action had been taken by the committee with the legislature in reference to the appropriation for the new historical building.

Dr. Schmidt asked if the question might be delayed until the election of officers, and while the Nominating Committee was out.

Gov. Yates preferred to speak at once. He spoke of the danger the bill for the appropriation for the building was in and urged every one of the members to do everything they could to help.

Dr. Schmidt told of a conference with noted architects and of their plans for the new building. He urged the influential members to get together and appear before the legislature and make as strong an impression as possible.

Mr. Hauberg moved that the officers of the society for the coming year be nominated.

Mr. Perrin moved that the officers for the past year be declared re-elected, that the secretary cast the ballot. Seconded. Carried.

This the secretary did and the officers were declared duly elected.

Dr. Schmidt thanked the members of the society for his reelection and spoke of the work for the society. He also spoke of the work of the Centennial Commission and of the preparation of the six volumes of Illinois history to be finished by the time of the Centennial celebration.

Mrs. Miller inquired after the health of the honorary president Hon. Clark E. Carr.

Dr. Schmidt spoke of the poor health of the honorary president which prevented him from attending the meeting and tendered Mr. Carr's good wishes for the success of the meeting.

Mrs. Miller moved that the society send Mr. Carr greetings and tell him that he was missed at the meeting, these greetings to be sent by letter. Motion seconded. Carried.

Meeting adjourned until afternoon.

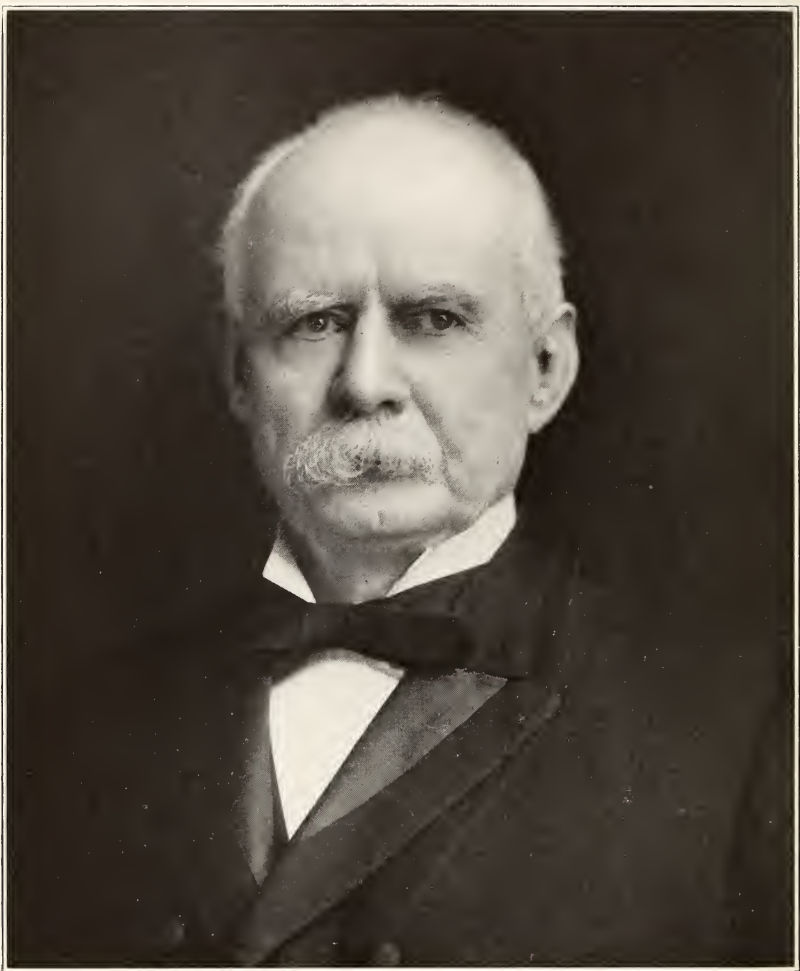


PART II

Papers Read at the Annual Meeting

1915





ADLAI EWING STEVENSON.

LIFE AND LABORS OF HON. ADLAI EWING STEVENSON.

(By John W. Cook, President, Northern Illinois State Normal School.)

Within a little more than three years Illinois will have rounded out a full century of history as a State in the American Union. This is a short period, however, in the long perspective of civilization. At its beginning there was a square mile of breathing room for every inhabitant; at its close there was less than a hundredth as much; then, Illinois was the twenty-fourth of twenty-seven states in population; now, it is the third of forty-eight. There are two-thirds as many people in Illinois in the year of grace 1915, as there were in the United States in 1818.

However remarkable the material development of these hurrying years may have been, and it has far surpassed the wildest dreams of the founders of the commonwealth, it can be regarded as of value only to the degree that it has contributed to the evolution of a superior race of men and women. Favorable physical conditions are essential to the production of the best type of citizenship, but the latter does not follow of necessity from the former. A high-minded people is the product of spiritual energies that have been permitted to have their way in the determination of the character of what we call the civilization of the time. These energies manifest themselves under the form of certain social, political and religious ideas that organize the activities of men and women into the visible, concrete methods of everyday thought and everyday life. What these ideas shall be and how they shall work out the destinies of states is determined in the largest part by the social, political and religious leaders that by a natural selection have attained the "seats of the mighty." It is the leaders who have attracted the attention of the people, who have their ears, and are therefore able to strike keynotes. They rally the masses around definite standards, for in the differing opinions of men there would be slight coherency and unity of purpose if certain central conceptions were not accented and lifted into battle cries. They largely furnish the arguments for this or that view and these contentions are heard or read and are dwelt upon in personal reflection and social interchange of opinion. They build signal fires on high summits as danger beacons so that the minds of men shall not become dull and heavy and inert. They become individual embodiments of common convictions, the voices by means of which these convictions become articulate and forceful, the instruments through which the social order utilizes to the large advantage of the many the insight and far vision of the few. These men and women appear in the storm and stress and need of society. They render their inestimable service and in the fullness of time they lie down to richly won rest. We who have gathered harvests of their sowing, who have felt the clasp of their warm hands, who gratefully follow with dim eyes the receding sails that sink below the distant horizon, try in our poor way to record the story of

their lives as we saw them and express in halting phrases the debt we owe them.

The rank of a people may be quite well determined by the regard in which it holds those who have served it well and faithfully. A generous race will dwell upon their virtues and will honor them in song and story. It will employ their achievements to inspire the young with high civic pride and exalted conceptions of citizenship. History is one of the noblest of the teachers of mankind and its office is best performed through the two great forms of biography. Autobiography in a most revealing way exhibits those interactions of men and events out of which character logically emerges; the more common form displays the impression made upon those who endeavor to find a fair rating of those of whom they write. Happily we have both sources from which to draw in dealing with the subject of this sketch. Personalities are so concrete, so tangible, they so reflect the spirit of their time, as it works itself out by its embodiment in the actions of men, that every historic people carefully treasures for its children in large and grateful measure the stories of its leaders and gives them a permanent place in its annals.

I trust that I may be pardoned a further word by way of introduction. In centering our thought upon a single character and endeavoring to render him that recognition to which he is justly entitled, it is wise to discover the especial field of service which gave him his opportunity and which furnishes the standards for the judgments of his fellow men. If he has won only local distinction one set of estimates will be employed. If the field is coterminous with that of the State another standard must be employed. If he has risen to national prominence it is evident that he must be viewed from a wider angle, as he will be called upon to balance larger counterweights in the scales that are held by the blindfolded goddess. Moreover, as men succeed men in places of great honor and corresponding responsibilities, there are inevitable comparisons and consequent judgments. Let us trust that the volumes that issue from this admirable society shall be far more than mere tributes of affection, manifestations of local pride, or exhibitions of indiscriminate hero worship. They should have all of the reliability possible under conditions of nearness, intimate association, and warm personal regard. The subject of this brief sketch was distinguished locally; he attained such prominence in the State of his adoption as to be the candidate of his party for the most conspicuous office within its gift; he twice represented his district in the National Congress; his supreme achievement was his promotion to a position in which only a single life intervened between him and the noblest political dignity within the gift of men. It thus appears that he is to be estimated not from a single point of view but from many and it is in these successive stages of final development that we are to see the explanation of the ultimate character that conducted itself with such charming dignity and grace as to win the admiration of all who knew him.

HIS BIRTH.

Adlai Ewing Stevenson was born in Christian County, Kentucky, on the 23d day of October, 1835. He belonged to the Scotch-Irish race and was thus handicapped at the beginning of his career with the responsibility of living up to the repute of that distinguished body of immi-

grants. They were lowland Scotch by descent and Irish by territorial location. Within the three-quarters of a century between 1650 and 1725 there was a liberal emigration of that vigorous stock from their ancient home to the County of Ulster, in Ireland. There was never a drop of Irish blood in their veins. Indeed, the main relation which these two peoples bore to each other was that of perpetual hostility. They were at one in their admiration of the militant spirit and won the respect of each other as foemen worthy of their steel. They were the steadfast followers of the reformation leaders, adored Calvin and Knox, were Presbyterians to a man, took their convictions of whatever character thoroughly to heart and actually lived upon their religious ideas. Persecution by those about them led them to abandon their old home and take chances with another stock rather than to be in a perpetual quarrel with their kinfolk. Wherever they have gone in the new world they have illustrated in a wonderful way the value of adherence to great ideas in all of the real issues of life. So remarkable has been the career of these men of Ulster that whenever there has appeared a great leader in our American life there has been a half suspicion that if you were to scratch his skin you would find a Scotch-Irishman under it. It would burden this page to mention a tithe of the illustrious names that grace our annals and whose bearers claim this distinguished descent.

In addition to this good fortune in the way of forbears, Mr. Stevenson also had ancestors who shouldered flint-lock muskets in those far-away days when the great republic was in the process of making and opposed their untrained valor to the disciplined soldiery of the old land that step-mothered rather than mothered her colonies. No one could be indifferent to so proud a heritage and it had rich and significant meaning to a high-spirited youth to be the bearer of ancestral honors.

TO ILLINOIS.

In his early youth his parents removed from Kentucky to Illinois. Will some acute and discerning analyst explain the fondness with which the native-born people of that old commonwealth revert to birth and even a brief early residence within its borders? It is quite possible that the social cleavage gave to the superior class a sense of self-respect, a *noblesse oblige* quality, which clings to them wherever they go. It does not render them difficult of approach nor exclusive in their associations, yet there is about it a suggestion of "quality-folk" that is genuinely attractive. Nor is it aristocratic nor undemocratic, if the two words do not mean the same thing. It suggests the better aspect of the cavalier; it has the flavor of the chivalric attitude toward women. It holds as legitimate and desirable a social idealism unregarded by the Puritan and indeed, associated by him with a system against which he violently reacted. It is an especially admirable trait of character for one who has much to do with a cosmopolitan society, for it protects him from undue familiarity on one hand and enables him to hold his balance with serenity under the most conventionalized conditions on the other.

His parents selected Bloomington, Illinois, as their home. They found a little city in the heart of the opulent corn belt. They could not have chosen more wisely. It is a region of unsurpassed fertility. The climate is favorable to the most vigorous physical and intellectual activ-

ity. Men of note were already there, men who were to win notable pages for themselves in the annals of the State and of the nation. The schools were not without merit and not long after their arrival an institution of higher learning opened its doors to kindle the ambition of youth. He availed himself of the opportunities at hand and to his great advantage. He subsequently returned to his native state and spent two years at Center College, at Danville. Each of these experiences left its mark upon his character and the latter especially affected his destiny in a remarkable way, for the charming woman who was to be his constant inspiration and inseparable companion in the varying experiences of his subsequent life was the daughter of the president of the institution.

His early life in Kentucky, his family training, his return to the home of his childhood and the associations of his college life at a highly impressionable age taught him certain of the social arts that are more notably accented and more highly prized in the South than in the less conventional North. He had now enjoyed for a time a taste of those liberating cultures of which so much was made in the last century in nearly or quite all of the institutions of higher training. It was probably due to this happy circumstance that he developed that extreme fondness for the noblest literature which he so transparently displayed through the years of his intensest activity and which he so freely indulged in the later years of his honorable retirement from public duties.

Because of the death of his father he was unable to complete his college course. He was called to his home in Bloomington to assume the responsible duties of aiding in the support of his widowed mother and her children, who were inadequately supplied with material resources. He sacrificed his dreams of a more liberal culture through longer contact with those ample sources of learning that have so generously enriched the world, but the impulse that made him a college student never lost its energy. To the end of his long life he sought the companionship of books and thus enjoyed the ministry of those rare spirits whose luster brightens from age to age. It was a sobering task that awaited him, but it was undertaken courageously and accomplished successfully. Who shall say that in the light of his later life it was not as well as to have lingered longer in those academic associations that are so delightful in retrospect but not always so tempering in their effects. Meanwhile he was prosecuting his study of the law. He began his reading with Hon. Robert E. Williams, of the firm of Williams, Cord and Dent, in June, 1857, and continued it until June, 1858, and was shortly after admitted to the bar.

He was fortunate in his tutor. Mr. Williams was a college graduate and a classmate of Hon. James G. Blaine. He was an admirable lawyer and continued in practice for many years, having opportunity on frequent occasions to test the excellence of his instruction by crossing swords with his former pupils. It was Mr. Stevenson's happy fortune, while serving his first term in Congress, to hand to Mr. Blaine, who sat just across the aisle from him, a letter of introduction from Mr. Williams, which marked the beginning of a long friendship between the two congressmen.

As this young man stands at the beginning of his active professional career he possesses the promise and potency of what he was to become.

At no time in his life was there any striking transformation of character. He exhibited a persistent growth in the qualities that marked him as a young man. To one who has spent his life in attempting to aid young people in the realization of their inherent possibilities a study of this sort is peculiarly engaging. Inheritance, early environment, the later play of social forces, the awakening of new ambitions, the coming to consciousness of already formed preferences of alignment—preferences unconsciously formed ordinarily—are full of meaning. Throughout my long acquaintance with him I was always impressed with the shaping influences of these experiences upon him. At twenty-three he was a striking figure physically. He had an erect carriage, a grace of movement that appeared in an alert and characteristic walk, a peculiarly attractive courtliness of manner, that accounted in large part for his remarkable personal popularity, and a certain dignity of character that suggested a sense of worth and self-respect.

There are other considerations that belong to the shaping period of his life and that merit consideration in order that his successes may be more easily understood. The old method of preparing for the practice of law was radically different from the modern method of the law school. He followed the custom of enrolling with a lawyer of repute and pursuing his studies with the occasional assistance of his tutor when it was most needed. Often certain clerical duties were performed by the student in return for the privilege of this procedure. There was thus afforded an opportunity for a somewhat close association with practicing attorneys and a practical cast was given to the period of study that could not be acquired in any other way. Furthermore, the office of a prominent lawyer was the rallying point of the most active minds of the community, for in those days of intense political partisanship every lawyer was an *ex officio* politician. Thither went the men of state and national repute to confer with their lieutenants with regard to the management of campaigns and the capable student was often thrown into relations of a personal character with men whose acquaintance not infrequently proved to be of great subsequent value, for it is not to be forgotten that many of these splendid fellows were staunch followers of the political captains and the latter were glad enough to avail themselves of their loyal assistance. Nor was the student excluded altogether from the inevitable conferences of the members of the firm when some case of marked importance was approaching trial or was occupying the attention of the court. He was a highly convenient assistant to aid in the minor details of the preparation of a case. He was thus anticipating his own later experiences and supplementing in large fashion the meager requirements of admission a half century ago.

Another consideration that should not be overlooked is the character of the books that were prescribed by authority as an essential preparation for practice. These were few in number but were acknowledged classics. Within the narrower limits of a professional scholarship they correspond to those noble masterpieces whose study was for centuries regarded as indispensable to the attainment of superior culture. The modern method of practice was impossible and fortunately so for the production of the highest type of legal scholarship. Precedent had not then become the determining principle of a law suit. Ample libraries

furnished with the decisions of the courts in the various states were extremely rare. No sooner does the modern lawyer reduce his case to its elements and discover the exact location of the crucial conflict than he begins a search of the announcements of the courts in similar cases, and, equipped with these opinions, he submits his contentions and their assumed support to the trial judge. I need not discuss the probable effect of well chosen instances. But in those early years of the fifties and the sixties the practice of the law was rather the application of great legal principles to particular instances. The masters of jurisprudence were the authors to whom the student turned to discover the fundamental conceptions by which justice is to be secured among men. Such writers were well worth study even by those who had no thought of the contentions of the courts of law, but desired only that breadth of culture that comes from contact with noble minds. They added to their insight into the final principles that underlie stable society the rich charm of an exquisite style. One wonders how it was that the limited curriculum of the Athenian school could in any way account for the marvelous civilization of the Periclean Age, but when he remembers that the Greek youth fed his mind upon the supreme literary achievement of all time the mystery begins to dissolve. Similarly, the law student of three score years ago not only touched intellectual elbows with the greatest of legal authorities but read and reread their masterpieces until they were a part of his mental tissue. There is no better method for the production of largeminded men. It is reported of Mr. James S. Ewing, one of the most capable lawyers that ever practiced at the Bloomington bar, that he was asked respecting the law in a certain case. "I have not examined the statute," he replied, "but I know what it ought to be and that is probably what it is."

Still another consideration should be recalled. There was at this time the intensest interest with regard to the greatest political question that ever divided the opinions of the American people. It is quite impossible for the present generation to understand the warmth of feeling with regard to the subject of slavery. There was no village that was too small for opposing partisans. There was a forum wherever men met and the air was filled with the voices of disputants engaged in hot debate. In the shop, the store, the street, on railway trains, even at the doors of churches the stock arguments, pro and con, were reiterated. Never again in the history of this people can a political question so unite those having a common faith or so separate those of differing opinions. Churches were rent asunder by the only question that men cared to talk about. Old friends became enemies if they could not find a ground of agreement here. Old compromises through which opportunists hoped to patch up a peace by pretending to accept what nobody really believed, were rent asunder and thrown to the four winds with supreme scorn. The critical epoch of American life had come and there was henceforward to be no possible harmony of sentiment short of the unqualified triumph of one contention and the complete surrender of the other. The greatest minds of the country were at variance with regard to a method of settlement. The noblest orators that ever gave distinction to law-making bodies poured forth their fiery eloquence with impassioned fervor. In all of the history of controversial discussion no literature was ever produced that

surpassed it. The Philippics of Demosthenes have by the common judgment of mankind been regarded as supreme oratory but they merit no higher rank than many of the passionate pleas that entranced a listening senate or thrilled the thousands of plain people that crowded to the hustings. In that great game of politics no one sat on the side lines. It was a superb school in which the young lawyer could try his mettle and prepare himself for notable conflicts at the bar.

It was in the midst of this social turmoil, this time of storm and stress, that this young man of twenty-three began the practice of the law. In the summer of 1858 he removed to Metamora, the county seat of an adjoining county, where he was to remain for the succeeding ten years. His coming into the little community which he had chosen for his home was distinctly an event in its history. Although the county was sparsely settled and schools were few and means of transportation were practically limited to the saddle-horse and the wagon, there was a good degree of intelligence, a native shrewdness, a discriminating judgment among the people. Many a man who signed his name with a cross held not inconsiderable estates that he had won by his own sagacity and was regarded with warm respect by his neighbors. The newspaper and the book were yet to assume much of the dignity with which the later years have crowned them. The county seat was several miles from the nearest railroad, but cases were not unknown to its tribunal that attracted to the little village the ablest lawyers of central and northern Illinois. The presiding judges were capable men and well versed in the law. Robert G. Ingersoll, already famous for the brilliancy of his wit, the eloquence of his arguments and the breadth of his legal knowledge, was a familiar figure in the little court room. One Abraham Lincoln, who lived at the capital of the State and rode the Bloomington-Danville circuit, with David Davis, Leonard Swett and others of their peers, occasionally found himself at Metamora. It was a good place for the young man. He was not lacking in political partisanship and the lines were sharply drawn in the intensity of the political situation, yet he was so amply endowed with tactfulness and kindliness of spirit that he was scarcely less popular with his political opponents than with his political friends.

It would have been a most interesting experience to gather from those charming visits which it was my valued privilege to enjoy, a fuller and more detailed story of his Metamora days. In his "Something of Men That I have Known," he describes the country lawyer of threescore years ago. Personally he belonged to a somewhat later period, yet he was intimately acquainted with many of the actors and thoroughly understood the spirit of the time. Books were few and were the constant companions on the circuit. The modern and familiar law library at the county seat may have been a dream of the future but it was not a reality of the time. Judges and lawyers were alike pilgrims and traveled together as in ancient Canterbury days. Cases were argued on the basis of general principles rather than by an appeal to precedent as in the modern courts of law. The coming to the county seat of a group of eminent attorneys was an event to be looked forward to with warm interest. When court adjourned for the day and the wits were foregathered for an evening of social enjoyment there was a rivalry quite as intense as that of the court room but it was far more cordial. It is a

well-known fact that the lawyer never carries the heat of the trial beyond the door. Mr. Stevenson's remarkable skill as a social entertainer must have been acquired in large part in the charming encounters of those historic evenings.

The year of his location in Metamora the memorable contest between Lincoln and Douglas held the stage in Illinois and was witnessed by a breathless audience. From his youth he had been an ardent admirer of "The Little Giant." The devotion to political leaders that was so characteristic a feature in the days of the quite incomparable Henry Clay had its parallel in 1858. The political pot was boiling as it had never done before. Douglas was seeking re-election as a mark of approval by his party of the course that he had taken in the Kansas-Nebraska fight. Every friend put on his armor and sought the tented field. With all of the ardor of his enthusiastic nature Mr. Stevenson gave himself to the conflict. His candidate was no sooner again in the Senate than the contest of 1860 began to fill the horizon. For these two years his time was given to politics more than to the practice of his profession.

His first official position was that of master-in-chancery, to which he was appointed by the court early in his career. The duties were discharged with exceptional skill. In 1864 he was elected to the office of State's attorney for the twenty-third judicial district. Under the Constitution of 1848 the duties of this office covered the judicial district hence he was obliged to accompany the circuit judge in his journey to the several county seats. This position threw him into close relations with the most eminent lawyers in the State. As his later career is kept in mind, a career that brought him, as I have said, to within a single step of the highest office within the gift of any people, these early experiences are seen in a more revealing light. Let the aspiring youth read the lesson and treasure its teaching. Fine native gifts, a clear sense of their worth, the disciplines of education, the dignity of service, spotless integrity, an untiring industry, a profound respect for certain fundamental convictions that the race has built into the substructure of a superior society—these are elemental qualities that underlie any true success. And these are qualities that were easily distinguishable traits in the possession of this man while he was yet on the nearside of the thirties, the time when men ordinarily have only begun to take on those permanent forms which are to mark them throughout their lives.

In 1866 occurred the crowning event of his life. He was married to Letitia Green, the daughter of Lewis Warner Green, D. D. At the time of her birth her father was president of the Presbyterian Theological Seminary, at Allegheny, Pennsylvania. While she was but a child the family removed to Danville, Kentucky, where Dr. Green became the president of Center College. It was while Mr. Stevenson was a student at that institution that an acquaintance began which ripened into affection and resulted in the marriage of these congenial spirits. It is not easy to speak of this gifted woman with the moderation that one should employ to avoid seeming extravagance of characterization. She had been reared in a cultivated home. The doors of liberal culture had therefore been open to her. Her life from childhood to womanhood had been spent in the intellectual atmosphere of a college community. Her asso-

ciations had been mainly with those who were devoting their lives to the acquisition and enjoyment of the finest things that can occupy one's attention. She had interested herself in the serious and solid cultures rather than in the more superficial accomplishments usually sought by those who anticipate social careers. Her experiences had developed that sense of personal dignity and worth that are the crown of fine womanhood. She was simple and sincere and able to appreciate worth wherever it might manifest itself, though clad in homespun and denied the cultural disciplines that are often the mark of gentle breeding. She was abundantly prepared for any position to which she might be called in the large range of our American life. She had followed the leadings of her affections and had linked her destinies with those of this young man who was making a notable place for himself in the practice of his profession. Like him she was destined to distinguish honors. Like him she bore those honors with that modesty and charm that have given her a permanent and revered position in the traditions of the Daughters of the American Revolution.

But it was getting to be high time for a change to a more populous community. After ten years of life at Metamora, Mr. Stevenson returned to his old home in Bloomington. This event happened upon the anniversary of his departure. He at once formed a partnership with his cousin, James S. Ewing, a partnership that was to continue for a full quarter of a century. Doubtless this was a gratifying change to Mrs. Stevenson as well as to him. Social conditions were vastly superior to those of the little village which they had left. Members of her own family were within easy reach. She now had about her a congenial company of people with tastes similar to her own. Here her home was to be for the remainder of her life except for the periods when absence was necessitated by residence in the capital of the nation.

Mr. Stevenson had now been in practice for ten years. Doubtless there were to be great gains in power and in all of the large resources of an accomplished practitioner. Yet enough had been done to give him genuine repute and to fit him for the distinguished success that awaited him. He was especially fortunate in being associated with a man of unusual capacity and of rare skill in his profession. It need not be said that this firm would be identified with the most prominent litigation that fought itself to a conclusion at the Bloomington bar. It was shortly after the resumption of his interrupted Bloomington life that I came to know him and that a friendship began that continued to the end. While not a lawyer, I belonged to a family of lawyers and that helped me to indulge my fondness for their companionship. I was a frequenter of the courts and a seemingly welcome guest at their offices. It was a most gratifying fact that I was also remembered upon those occasions when they celebrated their social inclinations by banquets and similar formalities. I was thus drawn into relations that were personally delightful and that gave me a vantage ground to estimate accurately the character of whom I am trying to write. I may properly add that I was never a member of the political party to which Mr. Stevenson belonged, although I cannot recall any incident in which that was a matter of the slightest significance so far as our personal relations were concerned. These

things are worth saying, perhaps, as the warmth of my admiration might otherwise be explained in part by political considerations.

As this is the period in his life in which his thought and energy were most exclusively absorbed by the law there is no better place to record the estimate which his fellow practitioners placed upon his success. The following quotations are taken from the proceedings of the McLean County Bar Association at a meeting held after his death. The memorial was prepared by a committee of which Hon. Joseph W. Fifer, former governor of Illinois, was chairman. The other members of the committee were: Hon. James S. Ewing, former minister to Brussels; Hon. T. C. Kerrick, former State senator; John T. Lillard and Chas. L. Capen, long members of the Bloomington Bar. Mr. Capen was for many years a law partner of Mr. Williams, with whom Mr. Stevenson prepared for admission to the bar. Their judgment must be regarded as a reliable measure of the meed of praise to which he was entitled as a lawyer.

A HOME TRIBUTE.

"He was not long in winning a place in the front ranks of a bar distinguished by the number of its able men. It was here (*Metamora*) that he met Judge Richmond, Judge Barnes, Judge Read and many others of equal ability. It was here, too, that he met Colonel Robert G. Ingersoll, the greatest wit and orator of his time, and a friendship was formed between them that ended with the latter's death.

"Mr. Stevenson's scholarly attainments, his thorough knowledge of the law, and, above all, his kindness of heart and his genial disposition, brought him both business and friends. He was soon regarded as the most popular young man in that portion of the State. He was appointed master-in-chancery and later was elected State's attorney of his judicial district and the able and faithful manner in which he discharged the duties of these important positions was the subject of private and public comment long after he left the county.

"His increasing knowledge of the law, his growing business, and above all, his expanding intellect caused him to seek a wider field for the exercise of his genius. He returned to Bloomington and began a legal and political career unequaled by any other citizen of our county.

"Deeply versed in the best English literature, and a profound student of the law, he soon became recognized as one of the ablest lawyers in the State. As a lawyer he was profound rather than technical. He cared nothing for mere forms, but everything for substance. As an advocate he had few equals and no superiors at the bar and there are adversaries now living who can remember the dread and anxiety experienced by them as he rose to deliver the closing address in a hotly contested case.

"Our friend was not only a successful lawyer, but he understood and appreciated the dignity of the profession of which he was so great an ornament, and he looked to the law as a means by which our free institutions are to be perpetuated and the rights and liberties of the individual citizen protected.

"In a public utterance, he said: 'It is all important, never more so than now, that the people should magnify the law. Outrages have been perpetrated in the name of justice appalling to all thoughtful men. It

need hardly be said that all of this is a total disregard of individual rights and utterly subversive of lawful authority. In the solemn adjudication of courts and under the safeguards of law, the fact of guilt is to be established and the guilty punished. The sure rock of defense in the outstretched years as in the long past will be the intelligence, the patriotism, the virtue of a law-abiding, liberty loving people. To a degree that cannot be measured by words, the temple of justice will prove a city of refuge. The judiciary has no guards, no palaces, no treasuries, no arms but truth and wisdom, and no splendor but justice.’”

But it was not as a lawyer that he was to win his greatest eminence. Indeed it is the good or ill fortune of the members of that noble profession that they are generally denied the wide celebrity that their abilities merit. They assist in writing into the decisions of courts great determining principles of equity, yet their names are not associated with the imperishable safeguards of the social order which they have done most to establish as a part of the law of the land. While he was fitted both by natural gifts and by specific training for high repute in the most dignified of professions, he was more highly fitted for the life to which the logic of events irresistibly drew him.

It is not probable that Mr. Stevenson had an eye to political preferment when he returned to Bloomington. The congressional district was overwhelmingly republican. It was a time of great unrest, however, and a consequent loosening of political ties. In 1874 he was solicited to become the candidate of his party for Congress. It seemed a forlorn hope, yet he obeyed the call. The campaign was an intense one and there were far too many exhibitions of the possibilities of the English language when employed as a vehicle of abuse. His self-control and masterful diplomacy were never more thoroughly illustrated. He seemed never to forget that those who were now in the heat of conflict were neighbors who held and were to hold each other in high esteem and that when the tides of passion returned to the calm level of reason, the old relations were to be resumed. He was elected by a good majority and in December, 1875, he took his seat in the National House of Representatives. A memorable period in the history of the country was to follow hard upon his entrance into legislative halls.

Mr. Stevenson found himself a member of a most notable group. The political penalties that had been inflicted upon the South were mainly removed. Instead of the carpet-baggers of the days of reconstruction, several of the most able of the native-born sons were in their old places in Congress. He was now in the full tide of his matured powers and ready to make the most of the situation. It was a rare privilege that he was enjoying. He was not only to witness but to be a participant in one of the dramatic contests that looked toward the restoration of the South to its old place in the Government. The general amnesty bill was on the stage. The great leaders on the Republican side were Blaine and Garfield and on the Democratic side were Hill of Georgia, and Lamar. His impressions of this battle of the giants may be understood by his remark that “this great debate vividly recalled that of Webster and Hayne in the other wing of the capitol nearly a half century before.” He was also present at the impeachment trial of General Bel-

knap and thus became acquainted with the distinguished lawyers for the defense as well as with the no less distinguished members of the House who conducted the case.

But the second session of this Congress had a far more serious proposition on its hands. For the first time in the history of the country there were two claimants for the office of president. Hayes and Tilden had been the candidates of the great parties. The time was approaching for the casting of the electoral vote and for its counting by the regularly constituted authority of the nation. In the states of Louisiana and Florida the electoral vote was claimed by both of the candidates. Unfortunately the parties were so nearly balanced that these votes were decisive elements in the electoral college. Only those who lived at that time are now capable of understanding the state of political opinion throughout the country. Each side boldly charged the other with a deliberate attempt to steal the presidency. It was evident that the founders of the Government had never anticipated such a contingency as had now appeared. The Republicans were in a majority in the Senate and the Democrats in the House. Each of the two parties held certificates from both of these states. Who would pass upon their validity in the final count and announcement? In the former cases in which there had been a failure to elect by the popular vote no alarm was felt as the constitution plainly provided for such a possibility and the House of Representatives peacefully determined the matter. It therefore became necessary to provide a specific enactment for a new authority to settle the controverted question. In consequence the historic electoral commission came into being and the country drew the first long breath that it had been permitted to draw for several months.

The commission was constituted, Mr. Stevenson being an earnest advocate of the measure. It heard the evidence in the case and at the last moment rendered its decision. It was inevitable that the defeated side would have in its membership hot-heads that would oppose the conclusions. Mr. Tilden's friends were firmly of the opinion that he had been legally elected and were convinced that he was being deprived of what was rightfully his, and they were disposed to resist to any extremity acquiescence in so unjust a decision. Happily there were men enough and of sufficient influence in the Democratic membership of Congress to prevent the gravest of all possible calamities, a resort to force. One of these sane and patriotic leaders was Mr. Stevenson. Although feeling that Mr. Tilden was suffering injustice by the decision of the commission, he stood unqualifiedly by its action. He had advocated the method of determining the issue and he urged every patriot to frown upon any attempt to interfere with a plan that had been agreed upon by a clear majority of the members after free and full deliberation. He could not convince himself that the conclusion had been reached without political bias but, however he might deplore a surrender of principle to partisan policy, he could not be guilty of a breach of agreement. His closing words were as follows: "Let this vote be now taken and let the curtain fall upon these scenes forever. To those who believe, as I do, that a grievous wrong has been suffered, let me entreat that this arbitrament be abided in good faith, that no hindrance or delay be interposed to the execution of the law, but that by faithful adherence to its

mandates, by honest efforts to revive the prostrate industries of the country, by obedience to the constituted authorities we will show ourselves patriots rather than partisans in the hour of our country's misfortune."

Mr. Stevenson treasured to the close of his life the friendships that were formed during his membership of the Forty-fourth Congress. They were by no means confined to his own side of the House. Blaine and Garfield were the most conspicuous members on the Republican side and both won his warm admiration and high personal regard. There is no room to recite the roll of distinguished members of the House and Senate with whom he was thrown into the most cordial relationship and the qualities that had given him his marked popularity in his western life could not but produce a similar result in this brilliant company of selected men sent here because of their superior capacity and attractive personalities.

At the expiration of this Congress, Mr. Stevenson retired from the office of Representative and resumed the practice of law. He good-naturedly alludes to the fact as due to circumstances over which he had no control. But he was soon to return. Two years later he defeated Hon. Thomas F. Tipton, who had been his successful competitor in 1876. He found that many of his associates of two years before had disappeared and that in their places strange faces appeared. A few that had been elected to the Forty-fifth Congress had already risen to prominence. Mr. Carlisle of Kentucky, Mr. Kiefer of Ohio, and Mr. Reed of Maine, were three of them. It was at this time that he formed the acquaintance of Mr. McKinley and that the friendship began that was continued through the life of the latter. He was especially drawn to this interesting man and the admiration was mutual. One of the earliest acts of President McKinley was the appointment of Mr. Stevenson as a member of the bimetallic commission to Europe.

Retiring from Congress on March 4, 1881, he was again at work on his briefs for the succeeding four years. The law is a jealous mistress and resents any variations of admiration and devotion. A certain habit of mind is essential to superior success and breaks in the continuity of practice ordinarily make a return to it difficult, yet so ingrained were these essentials of thought and practice that in the intervals of political life he dropped into line and resumed with ardor and success the old calling. The old sign was at the door and the old desk in the office. But his life as a private citizen was again interrupted. In 1885 the Democratic party returned to power after a quarter of century of waiting. The election of 1884 had resulted in the elevation of Grover Cleveland to the presidency. The pressure for office can better be imagined than described. The number of conspicuous positions can never be very great in the essential nature of things. There is one group of places, however, that furnished many thousands of opportunities for aspiring patriots to serve their country and with no especial hazard to life or limb. The emoluments vary from a small honorarium to a fair living compensation for a frugal citizen. The determination of the beneficiaries rested with the first assistant postmaster general, for he selected the fourth class postmasters. For every individual case there were many applicants. It was clear that one office for one man

was a logical limitation. It is clear that if there were ten applications apiece there would be nine dissatisfied applicants in each instance. Where was the man who had the ability to satisfy the nine that a peculiar piece of good fortune had come to them in falling short of their ambition?

President Cleveland has been credited with the peculiar gift of surpassing skill in fitting the man to the place. Here was by far the most difficult position in his administration. If in granting one, nine were to be estranged, then the power of appointing fourth-class postmasters was to be a fatal grant of sovereignty. He felt the need of all of the skill at his command in making the selection. Fortunately, he knew Mr. Stevenson. The remarkable tact of that distinguished citizen was to be a party asset. He undertook the task and called to his aid a young man whom he not only thoroughly knew, but who had profited by intimate association with himself. William Duff Haynie, a practicing attorney of Bloomington, became his chief clerk and aided him in the most delicate of tasks.

How Mr. Stevenson succeeded in his service of political shock-absorption is a tradition to this day in the department. Anecdotes illustrative of his method are still current in political circles. Men who left their homes to convince the appointing power of their peculiar fitness for the office of a fourth-class postmaster returned to their families with beaming countenances. Upon being congratulated by their friends and asked as to when they were to assume the responsibilities of the position they rapturously told of a special interview with the first assistant postmaster general, and the gratitude that they should never be able fully to express for their rescue from the evil consequences of their folly in indulging in political aspirations. Mr. Stevenson never understood the service that he had rendered to an appreciative humanity until his name was mentioned as a candidate for the vice presidency. If Mr. Cleveland had been re-elected in 1888 Mr. Stevenson would have been his postmaster general. It was a spontaneous movement that in 1892 resulted in the choice of this capable public servant as the running mate of his former chief, and it cannot be regarded as in any way a reflection upon the man who was twice selected as the president of the United States that the candidate for the vice presidency very materially contributed to the triumph of his party.

These were charming years for Mr. Stevenson, from 1892 to the close of the Cleveland administration. One dwells with fond delay upon the ideal harmony of the man and the place. His courtliness of manner, his affectionate nature, his genial wit, his incomparable tact, his ripened intellect, his matured judgment, his rich experience in public life—these all contributed to the production of a presiding officer of unsurpassed fitness for a body of men selected for the supreme legislative dignity in our system of government. Nor can one forget that in his home was one who was equally fitted to bear her part in meeting the social demands of the wife of the Vice President of the United States. With an unaffected dignity that came from gentle birth and noble culture, and from having shared the struggles of her husband in his memorable ascent from his modest beginnings to the line of succession in which he took his place among the illustrious men that preceded

and followed him, she shed the pure lustre of her charming character upon his home and honored him by her ideals of womanly worth.

It is interesting to read the chapter on the vice presidency in the chatty and entertaining book to which reference has been made. It covers a bare half dozen pages, and one would not suspect its author of having been one of those of whom he wrote, except from the presence of the brief address with which he closed his connection with the distinguished body, over whose deliberations he had presided for a quadrennium.

The memorable instance of seemingly endless debate that occurred while he was an incumbent of the office of the presiding genius of the Senate will be remembered. One of his old Bloomington friends, who was rather more familiar than discreet, boldly asked him one day whether he was not going to put a stop to so flagrant an abuse of privilege. Mr. Stevenson's kindness of heart was too great to allow him to injure the feelings of the questioner and his ready tact saved his friend from chagrin. Deftly parrying the inquiry he manifested a warm interest in a recent investment which the friend had made and exhibited real anxiety as to the possible consequences of the delayed spring to the agricultural interests of his home county.

One of the highly prized testimonials to Mr. Stevenson is the action of the Senate upon his retirement from office. It should find a place in these pages where one is called upon to make choice with such skill as he may command, from a wealth of material. It runs as follows:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *February 27, 1897.*

SIR: The discharge of the important duties incident to your great office as President of the United States Senate has for the last four years brought us into an association with you, very close and constant.

During this long period we have observed the signal ability, fidelity, and impartiality, as well as the uniform courtesy and kindness toward every member of this body, which has characterized your official action.

Your prompt decisions, dignified bearing, just interpretation and enforcement of the rules of the chamber have very much aided us in our deliberations, and have won from us an acknowledgment of that high respect and warm personal esteem always due to the conscientious performance of a public duty.

Desiring to give some expression to these sentiments, and to testify our appreciation of your valuable services to the Senate and the country, we take pleasure in tendering you the accompanying set of silver as a memento of our continued friendship and regard.

(Signed by all of the members of the Senate.)

At the expiration of his term as vice president he again returned to his Bloomington home. He was now in the high prime of intellectual vigor as he had turned only the third score of years a short time before. There were no signs of failing health nor marks of advancing age. About the best work that the world has seen in the fields of state craft has been accomplished by men materially his senior. He was good for additional years of service and he was not permitted to seek retirement. President McKinley was no sooner installed in office than he selected Mr. Stevenson as a member of the Monetary Commission. In this capacity he visited Europe, conferring with the various governments within

the compass of the scheme proposed in the formation of the commission. This was his first visit to the land over the sea and was a most enjoyable experience. He was accompanied by Mrs. Stevenson and received the high consideration and attention to be anticipated by such an official body, to which was added the regard due to one who had occupied important official position in his own country.

In 1900 he was again nominated for the vice presidency on the ticket with Mr. Bryan. He made a notable campaign but shared with the head of the ticket the disaster that has been the constant fate of that distinguished gentleman in his several attempts to realize his political ambition.

In 1908 the Democrats of Illinois regarded the election of a popular candidate as a possibility. While it was true that in the gubernatorial struggle of 1904 the Republican candidate had received a majority of nearly three hundred thousand over his Democratic opponent, so much confidence was felt in Mr. Stevenson's running qualities that he was solicited to accept the nomination. His many friends among the Republicans urged his refusal because of their belief that the attempt would prove to be a failure, and they were solicitous with regard to his health. He was now beyond the three score and ten which is the period erroneously deemed the limit allotted to life. He regarded the call as devolving a duty upon him, however, and he accepted it in that spirit. He made an excellent campaign and came within twenty-two thousand votes of an election. He made the unprecedented run of seventy-five thousand more than the nominee of his party for the presidency.

With this remarkable expression of the esteem in which he was held by his fellow citizens of Illinois his political career came to a close. The result indicated that he was not only supported by the unanimous vote of his own party but that thousands of Republican voters demonstrated their confidence in his integrity and ability.

Living in honorable retirement he was able to answer some of the many calls that were constantly made upon him for addresses upon memorable occasions. Nineteen hundred and eight was the semi-centennial of the historic Douglas-Lincoln debates. As Mr. Stevenson had been a participant in that remarkable campaign he was most appropriately selected by this society to give the address upon Stephen A. Douglas, at the January meeting in that year. This was a labor of love. Senator Douglas was his ideal statesman. He had followed his career with all of the ardor of his enthusiastic nature. He had become personally acquainted with "The Little Giant" as early as 1854, when the senator was visiting Bloomington on one of his periodical calls upon his constituents. Even as early as 1852, when but seventeen, he had rendered such service as was possible to a youth of his age in the campaign that ended in the election of Judge Douglas to the Senate. He had also met Lincoln and in his interesting book records his first view of that remarkable character. He was to know more of him later and to hear him conduct cases in the old Metamora court house, where he himself was to be a practitioner. In consequence of these early experiences he was peculiarly fitted for the pleasing duty assigned him. His address upon that occasion is a memorable addition to the records of this society. One will seek in vain for any suggestion of the bias commonly exhibited

by the political partisan. It is a calm and impartial account of the most interesting series of public political debates in the presence of the masses of the plain people of the State of which there is any record in American annals. The judicial tone apparent in the article is another of the exhibitions of fairness so constantly in evidence in the mature years of his active life.

On the hundredth anniversary of Lincoln's birth, Mr. Stevenson was the orator of the celebration at Bloomington. This address is characterized by the qualities that have been referred to in the previous contribution to historical literature.

Repeated reference has here been made to "Something of Men I Have Known." This is Mr. Stevenson's most gracious gift to those who have known him and admired him and who hold him in affectionate remembrance. Its pleasing humor; its charming, gossipy style so free from the conventionalities of historical literature; its estimate of men whose names are household words, as determined by familiar personal contact; its record of the impressions made upon his mind as he met these men in the freedom of personal intercourse—these features are vivid reminders of charming visits at his home, where, in the seclusion of his library, his talk ran like a rippling brook that sparkles under the sunshine. There are also re-tellings of old traditions, Flemish pictures of quaint characters, realistic sketches of early experiences, revealing anecdotes, that, like flashlight snap-shots, caught perishing and passing incidents that give vivid interpretations of the old life that without them could not be adequately understood. In my treasure house I have old letters from old friends whose voices are silent; pictures of faces that once looked into mine, memories of rare companionships with the richness of incomparable gems about them. This volume is like old letters, cherished pictures, hallowed memories.

Mr. Stevenson's life had been free from the harrassing illnesses that so many have been called upon to endure with such philosophy as they could command. His splendid physique had been the loyal servant of his needs. The time finally came, however, when disease began to weaken his stalwart frame. Relief came and with it the hopes that the returning tides of life would bring the strength for other years. This hope was not fully realized. To add to the anxieties inevitably arising under such conditions, Mrs. Stevenson's health began to decline. I well remember when I saw her last. She came hobbling into the library on her crutches to spend a little time with us. It was not long before there came a day of anguish and that clear-visioned spirit took its flight. Her sick room had been filled with the exquisiteness of flowers that came from near and far, through all the weeks of suffering. It was on a Christmas day that she lay among the beautiful gifts of loving friends, free at last from the pitiless scourgings of pain, a hallowed offering of a sorely smitten home to that other land toward which all trusting souls turn longing eyes when the burdens of this world are too heavy to be borne.

The Bloomington chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution bears her name. Not long after her death her virtues were beautifully commemorated by tributes from all the wide ranges of the country

which she had served. All echoed a common note—the disinterestedness of her service and the rare beauty of her character and her life.

Mr. Stevenson did not long survive her. The severing of the loving ties that had bound them in a rare and beautiful companionship hastened the inevitable end. On June 14, 1914, he passed away.

The encomiums that were called forth by his death will of themselves fill a volume. There is scant room for them here. They have one burden that weighs far more than all the rest. It is of supreme interest to observe that when the end has come far less is said of the honors that he won at the bar or of the political dignities with which he was crowned than of the things that forever abide. It is so charmingly expressed by Hon. Proctor Knott, of Kentucky, long an intimate associate, that it may well be quoted:

“Mr. Stevenson comes as near filling my highest ideal of a model gentleman as anyone that I have ever known. I do not allude to his attainments as a lawyer, to his ability as a statesman nor to any of these varied talents which have given him such distinction among the prominent men of the times. These are known and conceded by intelligent people everywhere. I refer to the gentle virtues so constantly illustrated in all of the relations of his private life—the unaffected kindness of disposition, the purity of thought, the guileless candor, the fealty to truth, the harmless mirth, the forgetfulness of self, the tender regard for the rights and feelings of others and the genuine sympathy with all around him, which make him the prince of companions and the paragon of friends, which clothe his presence with perpetual sunshine and fill his household with domestic affection and happiness. A professed believer in the sublime truths of the Christian religion, he never by word or deed affords grounds for even a suspicion of the sincerity of his faith.” There is more to the same effect. This tribute to his friend was not written by Mr. Knott when his heart was wrung by separation but years before the shadows grew long toward the west.

The voice of the press was musical with the same story. Those who stood by his bier to speak the last words of farewell dwelt finally upon the same theme. In his autobiography, Ambassador Andrew D. White made the statement that of all the public men he had ever known, Mr. Stevenson was the most delightful raconteur. The day following his death, the National House of Representatives interrupted its session by unanimous consent to pay its tribute of respect to his memory, and again the master note was struck. On the same day the City Council of Chicago adopted resolutions that dwelt more upon the purity of his life than upon the honors that had been bestowed upon him by the suffrages of men. The Board of Supervisors of his county, the memorial by the Bar Association of his home city, the addresses by the members of the Association, the tributes of the clergy on the occasion of his funeral—everywhere the one theme was uppermost in the thoughts of those who had known him in his unaffected life of sterling worth.

The surviving members of the family are Lewis Green Stevenson, Secretary of State for Illinois; Mrs. Martin D. Hardin of Chicago, and Miss Letitia Stevenson of Bloomington.

And now that the book is ended and that the hooded angel with the sleepy poppies in her hand has clasped the “brazen covers” and that

the passions of men have died away, and the rivalries are forgotten, and the ambitions are dropped like the neglected playthings of a child, the deep conviction of the supreme value of character compels the reverent attitude of silence. And so it is that this man with the kind heart and the genial face and the gentle grace of courtesy, with the honors that he won and with the affectionate approval of his fellow men, takes his place in the permanent annals of his time.

A GROUP OF STORIES OF THE AMERICAN INDIANS.

The Silver Covenant Chain; The Story the Medals Tell; Shabona's Ride.

(Miss Lotte E. Jones, Danville, Ill.)

Contradictory as it may seem, to learn that which is new, we often must put aside that which we already know; we must let lose of that which we have, to secure that which we desire.

To give these stories I bring the proper setting, to surround them with the atmosphere they need to make them most real I ask you to, for the moment, as far as possible, forget the present conditions of life in America.

For these are not myths and legends, but are tales of life and events in the Illinois Country hundreds of years ago, when the owners of our homes and lands were red-men, not white men; Indians not descendants of civilized peoples.

Perhaps I am telling these stories as an introduction to the paper on Indian Treaties to be given later in the session; it may be it is as a tribute to the race which, spite of prejudice, must be admitted to have been one of power and strength.

Many hate the American Indian; others who have studied the race and believe that "in all ages every human heart is human" find much to admire in the native of the western world, before he fell under the influence of the white man.

Surely a brain which could conceive the plan of Pontiac, a heart which would prompt Shabona's ride; a generous impulse such as Red Bird showed, indicate great possibilities for the race. We know the race has suffered much at the hands of the white man.

We judge the American Indian by the red man who has been driven from his home and the graves of his fathers, and been made the victim of the white man's treachery, cruelty and vices.

What race could have met such a test and not have been degenerated? It is fitting that we should tell and listen to the stories of his life in the long ago, that a clear vision of the American Indian may be had.

To tell or hear such stories to the best purpose, we must forget present conditions of life. Present-day cities and villages, air-travel, trolley-lines, and railroads, telegraph and telephone service, churches, schools, dwellings, newspapers and books, much that we eat and nearly all that we wear must be to us as though it never existed.

The modern farm with its machinery, ideals of working, stock raising, dairying, methods of soil-feeding, must vanish, and in its place we see the vast prairies covered with waving grasses and bright flowers, the home of the buffalo, the plover, and the native fowl.

The streams now small and insignificant, must have the former luxuriant growth restored to their banks, and the dense forests which sheltered the deer, the beaver and other fur-bearing animals that furnished both food and clothing.

The air must not echo the sound of the "Honk, Honk," of the automobile, the buzz of machinery, the hum of traffic which is the life of today; instead we hear the ripple of running water, the chirp of the insect, or the sharp crack of the twig as it is broken under the stealthy tread of the Indian creeping along to surprise or capture his prey.

Smoke curls heavenward from the camp fires; scattered tepees, or wigwams are here and there; the occasional brave on his way to the chase or the band on the war path; only these are here to distract the eye from the wealth of beauty, Nature with a lavish hand has scattered on every hand.

Under these conditions the American Indian lived his life in the land which was his by inheritance or conquest, and from which he was driven, cajoled into giving up, or at best forced to exchange for that which was of much less value, by the white man. And it is to just these conditions I ask you to hear the stories of the redman's life in this time long ago.

I shall tell as my first story a tale of fidelity, of loyal adherence to promised allegiance made by his forefathers generations before.

I will follow this with a story of love for his family as shown when men risked all dangers and put aside every caution in going into a place where all other inducements were refused, when the prospect of reunited home ties were offered.

If I have time I will follow this with a story of love for his natural enemy which proves the strength of the Indians' friendship when freely given.

THE SILVER COVENANT CHAIN.

It was many years ago when the white man's America was very young that a boat from Holland touched the shores of the newly discovered Western Continent at the mouth of a great river.

The name of this boat was the Half Moon.

The old world was looking for a mighty interior waterway which would make direct connection with the Orient.

The commander of the Half Moon, thinking he might have made the discovery of the longed for passage, turned his boat up the stream.

It was in this way that Holland was brought to America.

Although the much desired waterway to the Orient was not discovered by Henrich Hudson, the commander of the Half Moon, the river which has ever since borne his name opened a goodly country, and the people who came to make their home therein had much to do, indirectly, in determining the fate of the new world.

It was a treaty made by these people with the American Indians which settled the long contested question of whether France or Great Britain should rule the new world.

The great number of fur-bearing animals along the Hudson River established a valuable trade and before another year Dutch traders were found as far up stream as what is now known as the city of Albany.

The tide came in from the ocean and with it came the honest-hearted Hollanders to their new land.

The Dutch found a new race in possession of this land they had taken in America, and the red brothers of the forest aroused sentiments of fear and distrust in their minds.

They sought protection for themselves.

In less than four years Christiaenson built a rude fort to serve as this protection. It was built about four miles below what is now the city of Albany.

This was called Fort Nassau and Jacob Eelkens was put in charge of it.

Commander Eelkens was a kind hearted, peace loving Dutchman who deplored the constant fighting between the Iroquois nation of American Indians in whose midst he found himself, and all other nations and tribes.

He determined to make them the friends of the white man.

He watched these Indians and studied their natures and dispositions, and gained their confidence.

In due time he called them together in a conference, wherein he established a compact, which was the most far reaching in results of any agreement ever made between the white man and the red man.

Jacob Eelkens appreciated the poet nature of the American Indian and made a happy choice for this place of meeting.

A small stream enters the Hudson River near where Fort Nassau was located; it is now called Norman's Kill.

A natural amphitheatre was formed here and another, just above in the circling hills.

The eminence formed by the northern bank was known as Tawass-gunshee. The valley took its name from this eminence, a name which has been immortalized by Longfellow and other poets—

THE VALE OF TAWASENTHA.

“It was the Vale of Tawasentha,
 In the green and silent valley,
 By the pleasant water-courses,
 Where dwelt the singer, Nawadaha.
 Round about the Indian village
 Spread the meadows and the cornfields.
 And beyond them stood the forest,
 Stood the groves of singing pine trees,
 Green in Summer, white in Winter,
 Ever singing, ever sighing.
 And the pleasant water-courses,
 You could trace them through the valley,
 By the rushing in the Spring-time,
 By the Alders in the Summer,
 By the white fog in the Autumn,
 By the black line in the Winter;
 In the Vale of Tawasentha,
 In the green and silent valley.”

It was into this Vale of Tawasentha that Jacob Eelkens called his swarthy brothers; an ideal place in which to forge the Silver Covenant Chain.

The grave and much loved Eelkens told the Indians of his interest in them, and his desire to dwell with them in peace. They listened in silence, to his words of wisdom. The only sound to be heard was the singing and sighing of the pine trees, the ripple of the water.

After a little the old chief spoke:

"Brothers: We have heard your words. We, too, want peace. We will make us a silver chain that will bind us together. The links shall be our promise for ourselves and our children, and our children's children and their children through all time to keep peace with you and your children and your children's children and their children.

"We bind the chain about the pine tree. The pine tree will perish. We bind it about the hill. The hill will not be removed. We hold this end in our hand. You hold the other end in your hand. We will not let the links rust at our end. You must keep them bright at your end. I have spoken."

Thus the Silver Covenant Chain was forged.

Years passed and the people from England governed the land of the Hollander in American, but the red man ignored the change. They always called the Governor of the New York colony, "Father Colaer" because Gov. Van Curler was their first friend; and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs was "Brother Quider," the name they had given Peter Schuyler, whom they trusted implicitly.

Generations passed, but the British in America always counted the Iroquois their allies.

Even the French priests with their devotion to the race, could not wean the Iroquois from their allegiance to the English. Passing time did not tarnish the links of the Silver Covenant Chain. Wound about the great hill at Onondaga this chain was immovably fixed.

When Gen. Braddock went forth to battle—defeat it proved to be—he called out that "The French are trying to rust the chain which hitherto has remained bright and clear; help must come to the British or disaster will come to all. His answer was the rallying of the forces of the Iroquois Nation.

The British instigated frequent raids into the Illinois country by the Iroquois, that the envied fur trade might be directed to England rather than to France, and great efforts were made to bind these western Indian with the "Silver Covenant Chain."

But all efforts failed until the coming of Sir William Johnson to take charge of Indian affairs in America for Great Britain. At this time the colonies of France and Great Britain were engaged in a war to determine the right to the Mississippi Valley. Great Britain's claim was based on chartered rights while France made equal reasonable claim based upon exploration of the great river which drained the valley.

The war had raged for a half dozen years when the fall of Oswego drove Sir William to despair and determined him to make another effort to arouse the indifference of the Iroquois to their old allegiance. Up to this time they had refused to fight at all in this war.

Sir William called the Senecas, the Cayugas and the Onondagas together and held a council at Fort Johnson. Several Oneidas and Abraham, chief Sachem of the lower Mohawk castle, were present at this council. Here Sir William made an appeal for the Silver Covenant Chain. He told these representatives of the Iroquois nation how, for one hundred forty years their fathers had kept faith with the English speaking white man; how this chain had held the two races together so closely it seemed to be absolute; how their fathers had kept their end bright and strong, but that they were letting it rust and there was danger of its being eaten through; he exhorted them to take care, to look well after it.

The Indians listened in silence as was their custom, then addressed Sir William in eloquent terms of thanks for his admonitions and regrets that their indifference should have earned them this rebuke, adding:

"The fartherest castle of the Senecas have the extreme end fast in their hands and the rest of the Six Nations have also hold of it, and we will assure you we will not quit it."

This pledge was exactly what Sir William wanted them to make. Immediately after the conference, Sir William Johnson wrote the Lords Commissioners of Trades and Plantations in London urging that the plan of procedure of the campaign be changed to take in the capture of Fort Niagara believing that if such a change could be made the Iroquois would join them, and that, further, they could induce many of the tribes of western Indians to join them and be "bound by the Silver Covenant Chain" to the interests of the British.

This advice from the Commissioners of Indian Affairs of the British had due weight and the desired change was made. Another council was called at Fort Johnson and the promised recruits from the western Indians were on hand. "Ten and more nations were added" the organized number and bound to the interests of the British in the "Silver Covenant Chain."

This conference was held in the Springtime; events quickly followed each other and culminated in the complete overthrow of the French in America and the supremacy of the Saxon on the Western Continent.

One of the most important of the forts of New France in America was Chartres on the Mississippi River. The garrison of this fort, under the command of McCarty, comprised the flower of French soldiery. They had been called many times, through these half dozen years across the country to carry supplies to the French fort at the juncture of the Allegheny and Monongahela Rivers, (which form the Ohio River) known as Fort DuQuesne.

This trip was always made by boat down the Mississippi to the mouth of the Ohio, thence up that stream to its source. But the time came when the report reached Fort Chartres that Fort DuQuesne had been captured by the British and renamed Fort Pitt.

This report did not arouse grave apprehension; it only awakened regret that in going to the aid of this garrison they must change their route to a less direct one since it would not be safe to go so far on the Ohio River so long as its head waters were possessed by the enemy.

Mons du Aubrey had charge of the expedition to Fort DuQuesne at this time and he took the precaution to get together as large an army of

volunteers among the Indians surrounding Fort Chartres as was possible. When all was in readiness he took them, went down the Mississippi River in bateaux and canoes, to the mouth of the Ohio thence up stream to the mouth of the Wabash. Continuing their water-route up this river to the Miami village near the present site of Fort Wayne, they here made the portage to the Maumee, thence passed on down to Lake Erie. Being constantly re-inforced by bands of different tribes of Indians and Canadian Militia, they completed their journey thus far a great army of fully sixteen hundred.

At Presque Isle, Aubrey learned that the British had gone against Fort Niagara. The plan to retake Fort DuQuesne was deferred and this valiant French army, with colors flying and gay hearts, marched on to the relief of Fort Niagara.

Mons. Aubrey had heard nothing of the action of Sir William Johnson in binding the western Indians with the Silver Covenant Chain. The French troops were as ignorant of this decisive act as were their commander; if the Indians of the army who outnumbered the white men nearly three to one knew aught of it, they kept the knowledge their own secret. Knowing the many ways the redman employed to carry news among themselves, it seems hardly possible that they were really ignorant of so important an act.

Sir William Johnson learned of the advance of the French army and prepared to meet the troops under command of Mons. Aubrey on the road between Niagara Falls and the fort. This army in their march must have been a sight well worth the seeing.

Its progress was stopped by the Indians of the British army advancing to confer with the Indians of the French army. A short conference sufficed to have the Indians of the latter desert the French, giving as a reason that they were at that time at peace with the Iroquois, and dared not advance against them.

With their chief force gone, the French troops had no chance, and in spite of a brave fight exhibiting great courage, the battle turned into a massacre in which all the French officers were either killed, wounded or taken prisoner.

The "Silver Covenant Chain" had served its purpose; the Iroquois hand had strengthened its links and polished them to a dazzling lustre.

This defeat at Niagara was followed soon after by another defeat on the Plains of Abraham where New France in America was forever lost.

What of the Silver Covenant Chain later, do you ask? Less than a score of years and it was completely destroyed. When Great Britain drove her colonies in America to seek their independence and they gained it, the Silver Covenant Chain fell apart, link by link. The power which could resist the change of government from Holland to Great Britain, could hold together through years and passing generations was sundered by the stroke of the "Long Knives." A length of the Chain was held together even after its power was gone, in the restlessness of the years immediately following the Revolutionary War. Even up to the efforts of Tecumseh this length was kept together but it was weak, rusty and ready to fall into pieces. Black Hawk gathered together a handful of links and tried to brighten them and rivet them together into a means of connec-

tion with the British which would help him in his war against all the white men of America, but the rust was deep; he could secure no polish of sufficient strength to make a chain that looked to be other than baser metal, and spite of all his effort no two links would stay together.

The spirit of independence and patriotism drove the British across the water; the spirit of greed drove the Indian beyond the mountains; the Silver Covenant Chain has long ago been forgotten save to use as an illustration of fidelity and loyalty and power of a people who in their weakness dominated the decision of the greatest question ever brought to the western world. Shall Saxon or Gaul rule in the New World?

THE STORY THE MEDALS TELL.

The halcyon days of the redman in the Old Northwest passed with the passing of New France in America. His friends were shorn of their power. Their successors had little liking for the Indian race, and held the policy of extermination of the natives. Under such treatment all the savage in the Indian's nature was fostered. The two races hated and feared each other. They were arraigned each against the other in a continual death struggle. Without the influence of an avowed common religion they grew ever and ever further apart; more and more bitter in feeling each to the other. The Indian would creep upon isolated cabins and put the entire family to death, then burn the house. The white man hunted the red man as he would the wild animal shooting him on sight. In open warfare Gen. St. Clair with his troops was ignominiously defeated; Generals Wilkinson, Harmar and Hardin, swept the country, drove the Indians before them and took hundreds of the women and children into captivity.

Gen. Putnam was agent for the Ohio Company, and located at Marietta. He felt the urgency for some treaty or compact to be made particularly with tribes and nations such as the Miamis, the Delawares, the Chippeways, the Ottawas and the Kickapoos, Indians whose lands were in western Indiana and eastern Illinois.

This it was apparently a difficult thing to do; it seemed impossible to get these wary savages into a conference. Gen. Putnam went out among them, himself, at the risk of his life and tried to induce them to meet him at Fort Washington. But this was to no purpose; the Indians had been drawn into too many traps by white men, they would not consent to any conference. Discouraged though he was, Gen. Putnam saw more and more reason for the council, as the situation was growing more and more grave. At this point John Heckwelder, the Moravian Missionary, conferred with Putnam and suggested a way to induce the Indians to meet them in conference.

"Do you not remember," said Heckwelder, "the hundreds of women and children taken prisoners, in the raids of Harmar and Hardin on the Pottawatomies, the Shawnees and the Delawares, last year? Gather these prisoners together in one place and send word to the braves of these nations that their women and children are awaiting them at this place; then we will go there and I have no doubt will find our audience for our plea for a treaty of peace.



PEACE MEDAL.



"The Indian loves his family. The separation during these last months has driven the braves to madness. They will take any risk to be reunited with their families." Vincennes on the Wabash was chosen as the meeting place. Messages were sent to all the tribes that their friends would be at Vincennes at a certain date; that each and all would be permitted to return with the heads of the families who would go after them. Orders were sent to have all women and children prisoners sent to Fort Washington (Cincinnati) thence to be sent to Vincennes. The plan worked well. The squaws who were gathered at Fort Washington were so happy hearted at the thought of returning to their people that their bright eyes betrayed their joy, in spite of their Indian reserve and effort to suppress any emotion. One hundred forty of these Indian women, with numerous children were gathered at Fort Washington. They were sent down the Ohio River in boats to the mouth of the Wabash River, thence up that stream to Vincennes. As they neared their destination, their excitement and anxiety overcame their reserve, and their eyes were fixed on the shore. Long before the white man could tell whether the objects they were approaching were trees or people, the Indian women recognized their own loved ones. Their vision, much stronger than that of the white man, left them no doubt that their own were waiting. Those who claim the squaw was little better than a slave to her brave should have witnessed this meeting, after the forced separation.

Gen. Putnam made a happy though brief talk to them, but left them to the delight of reunited lives for a day or two before he called them into a council meeting. There he talked to them as being a part of the United States and told them that their father at Washington wanted peace. He told them further that they need not hurry in their answer, for they should have an abundance of time in which to consider it. He would not ask them to answer him that day.

They again met in council on the following day, and one after another the chiefs among the Indians spoke. They said they did not want to live among the white people; that there were bad people among both. They said they wanted to trade with the white people but that the white man should live on the east and south of the Ohio River while they lived on the west and north of the same river. They said too, that they wanted the French to keep the lands which the Indians had given them.

After this exchange of ideas on the part of the white man and the Indian, a mutual agreement was made to establish peace between the United States and the tribes represented at this conference. No exchange of land was proposed and no definite terms or limits of possession of territory was suggested. After this agreement was duly signed, Gen. Putnam presented two large white wampum belts of peace. A silver medal was suspended to each of these belts. This is one of the medals; the other was exactly like it.

In presenting these medals Gen. Putnam said: "Brothers, listen to what I say: We have been for some days past engaged in establishing a peace and we have succeeded through the influence of the

Great Spirit. Brothers, we have wiped off the blood, we have buried the hatchet, on both sides all that is past shall be forgotten."

Taking up the belts he continued: "This is the belt of peace which I now present to you in the name of the United States. This belt shall be the evidence of and the pledge for the performance of the articles of the treaty of peace which we have concluded between the United States and your tribes this day.

"Brothers, whenever you look at this remember that there is a perpetual peace and friendship between you and us, and that you are now under the protection of the United States. Brothers, we will hold this belt in our hands—here at this end the United States holds it, and you hold it at the other end. The road you see is broad, clear and level. We may now pass to one and another easy and without difficulty. Brothers, the faster we hold this belt the happier we shall be. Our women and children will have no occasion to be afraid any more. Our young men will observe that their wise men performed a good work. Brothers, be all strong in that which is good. Abide all in the path, young and old, and you will enjoy the sweetness of peace."

After explaining the engraving on the medal the re-united families were permitted to depart in peace. The side of the medal upon which is engraved the Coat of Arms of the United States was explained in these words of Gen. Putnam:

"Brothers, the engravings on this medal distinguish the United States from all other nations; it is called their arms and no other nation has their like. The principal figure is a broad eagle. This bird is a native of this country, and is to be found in no other part of the world; and both you and the Americans born in this land, having grown up together with the eagle, they have placed him in their arms and have engraved him on this medal, by which the great chief, Gen. Washington, and all the people of the United States, hold this belt fast.

"The wings of the eagle are extended to give protection to our friends, and to assure you of our protection so long as you hold fast this belt. In his right foot the eagle holds the branch of a tree, which with us is an emblem of peace, and it means that we love peace, and wish to live in peace with all our neighbors, and to assure you that while you hold this belt fast, you shall always be in peace and security, whether you are pursuing the chase or reposing yourselves under the shade of the bough. In the left foot of this bird is placed a bundle of arrows. This is meant that the United States have the means of war and that when peace cannot be obtained, or maintained with their neighbors, on just terms, and that if, notwithstanding all their endeavors for peace, war is made upon them, they are prepared for it."

You may wonder how this medal, the pledge of peace and friendship between the United States and the Indians of those nations, came to be here in my hands today. A few added words will make the explanation and it is an interesting story: Kesis, the noted Pottawotomi chief, was one of those at the Vincennes conference. By his mark he signed the compact of peace. In due time old age overtook Kesis and he passed to the "happy hunting grounds" of the blest. He was buried in the Kickapoo burial grounds, which were situated on the high bluff forming a part of the banks of the Middle Fork of the Vermilion River,





SHABBONA, THE WHITE MAN'S FRIEND.

near its mouth, five miles west of Danville, Illinois. As was the Indian custom, his valuables were buried with him. One day, some sixty years after this conference at Vincennes, two boys living in the neighborhood of the Indian burial grounds appeared with these two medals, which they claimed they had found. The supposition was that they had been washed from the grave by a recent freshet. Whether such was the case or that the boys had deliberately robbed the grave of the old chief, was never fully proven. They sold the medals to the farmer who owned the land for a trifle. John Heckwelder, the Moravian Missionary in his report of the conference, described this medal so clearly, minutely and fully there could be no doubt this was the identical one given as a pledge of peace and friendship between the United States and the tribes of Indians at Vincennes. Josephus Collett, the well known Indiana man of science, appreciated its worth and paid the price set for it, and also bought the other medal found at the same time and place. Mr. Collett and his brother had a very valuable collection which was kept at the latter's home. Some years ago both Mr. Collett and his brother died. The house which contained the great collection was burned to the ground and nothing was saved. Those who knew anything about these medals supposed they, too, were destroyed in the fire. A short time ago these medals were taken to a loan exhibit in Danville by Mrs. Lynne Beckwith, the widow of the son of Mr. Hiram Beckwith. They were exhibited as "Indian medals;" were, fortunately recognized and identified. By being in the possession of Mr. Beckwith they had escaped destruction in the Collett fire; by being exhibited they had been restored to their value, this one as the medal Gen. Putnam gave Kesis at the Vincennes conference.

This other medal found at the same time and place is seen to have less intrinsic value, it being made of a baser metal. It is doubtless one of those with which the old Northwest was flooded after the Revolutionary War as bribes to harass the early settlers. How it came into the possession of Kesis is not known.

SHABONA'S RIDE.

Shabona was a chief of the Ottawa nation. He was the grandnephew of Pontiac. There need be no account given of his early life nor of his later years before the event which proved his love for the white man.

At the time of the incident of his ride, Shabona had grown far beyond the hasty impulses of youth, past the time when the love of adventure spurs one on to great tasks; when physical effort must be a matter of will rather than instinct.

Black Hawk with his British band had opened a war upon the white settlers of northern Illinois; the merits of this war need not be discussed at this time; suffice it to say that Black Hawk hoped to have the aid of Shabona, but did not.

In due time Shabona learned that the white settlements along the Fox River were to be raided by Black Hawk and his band. This news gave Shabona deep concern. He called his son Pypegee and his nephew Pyps to him and told them that they must, if possible, avert this calamity. He instructed the young men how the three of them must

go through these scattered settlements and spread the alarm. He spoke with authority and impressed the young men with the necessity that all who lived along the way should know the danger which threatened them. The young men listened in silence, then threw their blankets on their ponies, mounted and started off.

This ride was full of the element of adventure, for not only must the dim trail between the settlements be followed, but the destination of the riders must be kept absolutely a secret. Should any intimation of the purpose of this ride reach Black Hawk not only would the white men they sought to protect suffer, but they, themselves, would have to pay the penalty with their lives. With every precaution known to a stealthy people these three men started. Beside secrecy, haste was demanded; ever so little delay might prove fatal. Fairly on their way they pressed down the valley to Holderman's settlement where the white men were told their impending danger. Here, to make the task less dangerous the three men separated. It was more safe for young Pypeegee to go on, since his going in that direction would not arouse suspicion, as it was well known that his heart was in the keeping of a dusky maiden whose home lay in the way beyond. There would be no question if any of his race should see Pypeegee riding toward Bureau Creek.

Shabona turned his horse back toward home. He had been at home some time, when, the next evening, Pypeegee came hastening to his father's wigwam. He had a tale of distress to tell. Coming through the Davis settlement, Pypeegee told his father, he saw what looked very much like a band of Indians approaching. While too far away to be distinct, the young man's trained eye saw by the way they marched, and the manner of their dress, that they were with little doubt, "on the warpath." Pypeegee added that he avoided meeting them and hastened as fast as he could ride to his father to tell him what he had seen. Shabona said not a word. He was yet very weary from the ride of the previous day. This had lasted far into the forenoon of this one. He had taken no rest, but was just preparing to retire for the night. Silently he turned and went out from his wigwam. Throwing a blanket on a fresh pony he mounted it, and unattended, went out into the night. He was again taking up the trail to once more warn his paleface friends of their danger. They did not believe him yesterday, they may not have believed the young men; maybe if he went tonight he might induce them to seek safety. He would at any rate make another effort. None but himself could undertake this dangerous ride; he and he alone must try to save his friends.

Shabona knew the danger he was courting; he knew he took his life in his hand in going on this perilous ride. But he never wavered; he had no fear of the consequences: Shabona was the friend of the white man. His life was freely to be the price of his effort to save his friend. "Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends."

Had there been need of secrecy the day before, much more was it necessary this night when the war party was on its way to do that which he was trying to thwart. Secrecy and haste could alone save the lives of not only them but himself as well. Urging on his pony, he covered mile after mile. Danger increased with every mile but he pressed on.

Every mile the risk became greater, yet Shabona had no thought of turning back; gave no consideration to quitting his self-imposed task. Over the lonely and dangerous trail; through the sleepy settlements, which he must rouse with as little delay and noise as possible, for "the Indians were upon them"; swimming streams, never faltering, not yielding to the fatigue of this hard ride, Shabona went on and on.

Fearful that he might be too late he at last reached the Davis settlement on Indian Creek. To his relief he saw that he had come before the British band of Black Hawk had reached this settlement. Mr. Davis would not listen to him the day before; it was not yet too late; could he persuade him tonight to take his family the twelve miles to Ottawa where they would be safe?

Pausing to tell his story to every settler, Shabona rode further on and on until every one had the alarm. Returning he passed through every settlement with his message of warning, not missing any, even to the struggling one on the Lake where, twenty years before this the tragedy of the massacre at Fort Dearborn had been enacted.

Shabona did not dare be seen coming from the direction of the white settlements; although very tired from the already long ride he went out of his way in returning to his wigwam. The eastern horizon was streaked with the colors of the coming day, when the rider and beast sank exhausted at the entrance of home. Every white settlement had been visited, and the warning spread; horse and rider had done their utmost to save the lives of those whom Shabona loved.

Not for his race; not for his countrymen; neither for those who had put him or his under obligations; but for the value of the act, in the interests of humanity, because of his friendship, Shabona took every risk, faced all danger, and carried the message of warning to the representatives of the race which was driving his people from their possessions, taking their homes from them.

Fidelity, loyalty, love of home and family, devotion to and service rendered those who were the proven enemy to his race—is it not, after all a deserved tribute to the American Indian to study the incidents in his history which bring out virtues such as these?

Who dares not recognize Shabona a hero, fit for immortalization in song and story?

REMINISCENCES OF YELLOW BANKS.

(By James W. Gordon, Oquawka, Ill.)

Emerson wrote,

“Lo, I uncover the land
Which I hid of old time in the West;
As the sculptor uncovers his statue
When he has wrought his best.”

Into this great middle west came the pioneer, ax in hand, to blaze out a path to new conceptions of freedom, new ideas of justice, new standards of morality, new vistas of civilization. It is true that this was not his prime motive, but it is what he accomplished.

He was necessarily possessed of certain characteristics. He possessed courage, else he would not have come. Industry was required of him, else he would have starved. Endurance was essential, for upon this did his success depend. Hardships filled his life but he met them like a man, for he expected them. Deeds, rather than words, characterized him, for he lived in a day of great deeds, replete with danger and luminous with heroism. He came into the trackless forest and instead of the war-whoop of the savage and the howl of the wolf and the cry of the panther were heard the ring of the ax, the lowing of oxen, the hum of the spinning wheel, the prattle of the child. He invaded primitive nature and established civilization and we of this century profit by his work.

In western Illinois, its western border bathed by the waters of the Mississippi, lies Henderson County, about half way between Rock Island and Quincy. In size it is small; its population is about 10,000; farming is its principal industry; it contains no populous city, but in per capita wealth it ranks third in the State of Illinois.

If you were to take a trip down the Mississippi River on the packet that plies the waters of the river between Rock Island, Illinois, and Burlington, Iowa, your last stop before reaching the latter place, would be Oquawka, the county seat of Henderson County. If curiosity or business caused you to leave the boat at this point you would doubtless walk up the main street leading east from the river. On either side of the street you would observe the usual stores and offices you would expect to find in a village of a thousand people including a somewhat imposing brick opera house building, erected in modern times, in which are located a bank and the post office. Should you turn north at the third street, you would soon reach the court house, a relic of ante bellum days and chiefly composed of four large pillars, an immense belfry and many hallowed recollections. As you walked about, however, you would see little, in appearance, to differentiate this village from hundreds of other villages in the State of Illinois, yet it occupies the scene of many historic



House of Robert Hodson, Oquawka, formerly Home of S. S. Phelps.



events. Two of the nation's greatest men, the two whose names are most often linked together, have graced it by their presence, and its history is a part of the history of this great middle west.

In your approach to the village, had you been out on the deck of the steamboat you would have noticed, extending northward some miles from the town, a high bluff of yellow sand. This bluff gave to this settlement its first name, that of "Yellow Banks," and the Indian word, meaning "Yellow Banks" furnished, later, the name for the village that was here established, the Indian word being "Oquawkiek." This particular spot seems to have been a rendezvous for the Indians who frequented this section and the locality was named by them long before the advent of the white man. When the town was finally organized and platted and an official name became necessary the promoters of the enterprise took the Indian name, dropped the last syllable and substituted therefor the letter "a" and Oquawka it became, and has since remained, but for many years its only known designation among the white men was "Yellow Banks."

The first white settler in Henderson County was Captain Redman, a veteran of the war of 1812, who settled in the southern part of the county in 1825 or 1826. The second was Dr. Isaac Galland who came to Yellow Banks in 1827 and erected the first house built there. In 1828 he sold his place to S. S. Phelps who, with his brother William, located there and entered upon the business of trading with the Indians, in which business they achieved a marked success. The business was carried on, mostly, with the Sac and Fox Indians. By these, S. S. Phelps was named "Hawkeye," because, they said, his eye flashed like that of an angry hawk when he was angry or in danger. His friendship with these Indians stood him in good stead during the Black Hawk war. Following the Phelps brothers, came other settlers in the course of time and, eventually, quite a settlement grew up and settlers began to take up land out through the country and Yellow Banks grew to be quite a shipping and commercial center. It may be interesting to note the fact that at one time a stage line ran from Springfield to Yellow Banks. An advertisement published in the Sangamo Journal in 1834, read as follows:

"To the traveling public—Four horse coach—From Springfield to the Yellow Banks via Sangamontown, New Salem, Petersburg, Huron, Havana, Lewistown, Canton, Knoxville, Monmouth to the Yellow Banks. Leave Springfield every Wednesday morning at six o'clock. Arrive at Monmouth on Friday evenings at six o'clock and at the Yellow Banks on the Mississippi the next day at 12 M. Return on the same days to Monmouth and arrive at Springfield on Tuesday evenings at six o'clock. Fare through to the Yellow Banks, nine dollars; way passengers six and one-fourth cents per mile. Baggage at risk of owners. The proprietors have procured good carriages and horses and careful drivers and every attention will be paid to the comfort and conveniences of passengers. The country through which this coach passes is well worthy the attention of emigrants. The patronage of the public is solicited for this new enterprise.

Tracy & Remy."

In these days of rapid and comfortable and inexpensive transit this advertisement seems amusing, but not so in the former days. Later, a stage line was operated from Chicago to Yellow Banks.

From the viewpoint of historical interest Yellow Banks seems to have occupied no important or prominent place until the time of the Black Hawk war. We find mention of it, however, in connection with that event, in various places. The chiefs Tama and Keokuk were warm friends of S. S. Phelps and were frequent visitors at Yellow Banks, as was, also, Black Hawk himself. A history of Black Hawk, personally endorsed by him was, shortly after the Black Hawk war, written and published by Col. J. B. Patterson, a resident of Yellow Banks.

On April 6, 1832, Black Hawk, with his warriors, made a call at Yellow Banks, enroute to the Rock River country. Mr. Phelps tried to persuade the Indians to recross the river and return to their own country, assuring them that the Government would not permit them to come into Illinois in violation of their treaty, but they would not heed his advice, and, after camping over night, took up their march northward. The subsequent events of the war, generally speaking, are matters of recorded history.

One incident of the times, however, which occurred at Yellow Banks, and which may not be generally known, is worthy of preservation. It had within it the possibilities of a general Indian war, which was averted by the manly and courageous action of Mr. Phelps. Tama was a prominent Fox chief. He had formerly lived in what is now Henderson County, but at this time had his town about three miles below Yellow Banks and on the Iowa side of the river. In earlier days he had rendered valuable service as a scout and at one time Governor Edwards of Illinois Territory had given him a certificate testifying to his friendship for the white man. He had been a friend of Mr. Phelps for several years. At the time of the Black Hawk war, he was quite aged. One night, during the hostilities, he, with his wife and son, arrived at the trading house of Mr. Phelps at Yellow Banks to inquire if his white brother had heard any news from the seat of war. He was kindly welcomed. The evening was spent in talking and it was arranged that the Indians should spend the night at the home of Mr. Phelps. At early dawn, the household was awakened by the sound of many approaching horses. All sprang up with visions of an Indian massacre, but oaths and demands for admittance in unmistakable English dispelled that fear. Going out of doors Mr. Phelps found the house surrounded by more than fifty drunken soldiers. Their captain angrily addressed Mr. Phelps and said, "You are accused of harboring Indians, our natural enemies and I demand that you surrender them to us." Mr. Phelps replied, "Tama, his wife and son, are the only Indians here. Tama you know as well as I do and that he has always been the friend of the white man, and has rendered valuable assistance as a scout in our army. Now he is aged, and in the last stages of consumption. If I should give him up, the blood of every white settler for miles around would pay the forfeit. I will not give him up."

The captain of the invaders then said he would give him time to reconsider his decision and he and his soldiers proceeded to prepare and cook their breakfast. An hour later the demand was again made for the

surrender of the Indians. Mr. Phelps had stationed his few men with guns with instructions to defend the Indians to the last, and had armed Tama's son likewise, and Tama announced himself ready to reload guns, all that he was able to do. The captain demanded that Mr. Phelps accompany him to the store building. Not wishing to appear afraid, he did so. Reaching the store, Mr. Phelps, gun in hand, jumped over the counter and prepared to sell his life dearly. Again the captain demanded the surrender of the Indians, saying, "Are you ready to give up the Indians? If in three minutes you do not promise to surrender them to us, we will shoot you, throw your body into the river, burn your house, and kill your men." Regardless of consequences, Mr. Phelps cried out, "Shoot and be damned; I will never yield the Indians to you." The captain commenced to count one, two— and Mr. Phelps was almost in the act of pulling the trigger and getting in the first shot himself, when help arrived. One of his men had slipped out at the beginning of the difficulty and raised a relief party among the outlying settlers, who surrounded and captured the soldiers and later made them leave for Rock River, and the Indians were saved. The sagacity and heroism of Mr. Phelps undoubtedly averted an awful Indian war. Had he yielded and given Tama and his family over to the drunken soldiers, they would have been killed and the result would probably have been an Indian uprising all along the border. After the war was over, General Scott made a trip to Yellow Banks to see Mr. Phelps and on meeting the latter, said, "I want to shake your hand, I only wish there were more men of your nerve and courage on the frontier. If you had allowed those men to massacre those friendly Indians, it would have precipitated an Indian war of which no man could tell the result."

This period furnishes the first record of the presence of Abraham Lincoln in this particular section.

It would be beyond the province of this paper to relate in detail the connection of Mr. Lincoln with the Black Hawk war in general, but some reference is necessary, in connection with the subject under discussion.

Ida M. Tarbell in her life of Lincoln says of the volunteers that assembled at Beardstown, of one company of which Mr. Lincoln was elected captain, "It was on the 27th of April that the force of sixteen hundred men organized at Beardstown started out. * * * The army marched first to Yellow Banks on the Mississippi."

From other sources we learn that this force reached Yellow Banks late in the afternoon on May 3. This body of soldiers remained in camp at Yellow Banks until the morning of May 7 awaiting a boat bringing supplies up the river and was joined, while waiting, by two companies from Shelby County. On the morning of May 7, the army moved on to the Rock River country. It appears, then, that Mr. Lincoln's first visit to what is now Henderson County was in the capacity of a soldier.

It is likely that Mr. Phelps and Mr. Lincoln became acquainted on this occasion. They became familiar friends, to the extent that Mr. Lincoln in later days addressed Mr. Phelps as "Sumner" and the latter addressed the former as "Abe." Physically they resembled each other in a striking manner. The first time the writer saw a picture of Mr.

Phelps, he was sure it was a picture of Abraham Lincoln until advised differently.

At the time of the Black Hawk war, Henderson County was a part of Warren County. Oquawka enjoys the distinction of having been the county seat of two counties. It was the first county seat of Warren County and has been the county seat of Henderson County since its organization in 1841.

Coincident with the organization of Henderson County, the name of another of the nation's great men becomes linked with the history of the county and its county seat. Stephen A. Douglas presided over the first term of the Circuit Court held in the new county, in a store-room in Oquawka, on May 28, 1841. The writer has seen his handwriting on the dockets of that period. Judge Douglas continued to hold court from time to time at Oquawka until the November term, 1843, when he was succeeded by Judge Jesse B. Thomas, who, in turn was succeeded by Judge Richard M. Young, and he by Judge Norman H. Purple, afterwards a Justice of the Illinois Supreme Court. There is a persistent tradition in Oquawka, that Mr. Lincoln also attended court here while riding the circuit, but the writer has been unable to verify it by anyone who actually saw him in court.

From the time of the Black Hawk war on, for many years, nothing of particular interest occurred at Yellow Banks. In 1836, after the name "Oquawka" had been decided upon, the town was surveyed and platted, the name "Yellow Banks" passed into history and by its present name it has ever since been known. It was thought, at this time, that a great city was in prospect. Governor Duncan bought a fourth interest in the town, as platted, for \$50,000, and speculators from New York invested heavily, and for a time, the history of the town reads like a story of Kansas in the late eighties, lot sales running into the thousands. It did not become a city, but in the pre-railroad days, it did a wonderful business and was the center of river traffic for a large territory. Freight coming in by river was hauled to Monmouth, Galesburg, Lewistown and even to Peoria. Large amounts of stock and produce were shipped out by river. For instance, in 1847-8 there were shipped from Oquawka by river 5,200 hogs, 130,148 bushels of wheat, 43,316 bushels of corn, 7,084 barrels of flour, 1,034 barrels of lard, 359,776 pounds of bulk pork, 12,555 pounds of butter, 21,580 pounds of hides, besides a large number of other things. In 1852 the total exports clearing through Oquawka, were \$441,746.00, and the total imports \$412,880.00. But after the advent of the railroads, about 1855, the thriving mart degenerated into an ordinary river village and became an Ichabod among cities, for its glory had departed.

Nothing of any particular interest seems to have occurred until 1858. The great political battle of that year, for which Illinois furnished the arena, reached Henderson County, in its course, and the two giants of that contest included that county in their itinerary. On the Monday preceding the joint debate at Galesburg, Mr. Douglas spoke at Oquawka. The weather was disagreeable, cold and rainy, but notwithstanding this, an audience of eight hundred to a thousand people gathered in front of the court house where a stand had been erected and Senator Douglas spoke to them for two hours and a half.



Bedroom in House of Robert Hodson, Oquawka. Abraham Lincoln once slept here.

More reminiscences are preserved regarding the visit of Mr. Lincoln five days later on the Saturday following the Galesburg debate. The weather was more auspicious; about 1,500 people came out to hear him. He was met at the railroad, then some five miles distant, by a delegation, headed by the local "Brass Band," and was escorted to Oquawka by a procession three-quarters of a mile long. Two amusing incidents are presented in local history. As Mr. Lincoln, S. S. Phelps and Judge Stewart, who was to introduce him, were riding in an open carriage down the main street, to the speaker's stand, down by the river, a man standing along the street was heard to remark: "Well, if you can get three uglier men together again at one time, I would like to see them." The other incident occurred at the home of S. S. Phelps, where Mr. Lincoln was entertained. You have doubtless all heard the story. Paul Selby, who is probably as well informed as anyone in the State on the subject, told the writer that, while the story was an old one, he had never heard it localized. The writer had the story from a son-in-law of S. S. Phelps, who was present. After dinner, Mr. Lincoln took from his pocket, for some purpose, a very dilapidated pocket knife. Mr. Phelps said to him, "Abe, it seems to me that that is rather a poor pocket knife you have." Mr. Lincoln replied, "Sumner, it is; that knife was given to me and there was a rather peculiar condition attached to the gift." Mr. Phelps asked what it was and Mr. Lincoln said, "That knife was given to me on condition that if I ever met a homelier man than myself, I was to give him the knife; fulfilling that condition, I now present the same to you." It appears, however, that Mr. Phelps did not accept the gift.

After making his speech and returning to the Phelps home, Mr. Lincoln signified a desire to lie down and rest. He was accordingly shown upstairs and into a room where was an old-fashioned "four-poster" bed with a canopy top, where he took a nap. The Phelps home is now owned by Robert Hodson, a son-in-law of Mr. Phelps. This old-fashioned bed has always been kept standing in the room where Mr. Lincoln used it and is always shown to friends and visitors on their first visit to the home. Photographs of the room and bed are now in the possession of the State Historical Society.

The respective visits of Judge Douglas and Mr. Lincoln naturally aroused a great deal of interest in the political issues of the day, and every effort was put forth by their respective partisans to make the meetings a success. On the occasion of the Douglas meeting, the democrats, among other things, had a "hickory pole raising," thus demonstrating their loyalty to "Old Hickory," and on the occasion of the Lincoln speech a very elaborate parade was had, in which were many floats, among them being a representation of Mr. Lincoln's old log cabin.

The speeches were along the same lines as the published speeches of the two candidates in that campaign. So far as the writer can discover, these occasions comprised the last visits of these two great men to Oquawka. The large affairs of the Nation thenceforth required their attention and their services.

The history of Henderson County and Oquawka during the Civil War was in no wise different from that of the other communities in the State, as regards patriotism, and the proportion of men sent to the

front. The sentiment of Oquawka was intensely loyal. One local incident serves to illustrate this. In this section of the State, during that period, were a number of members of the Knights of the Golden Circle. A number of soldiers who were at home on furlough learned the identity of some of the members of this organization and caught them and compelled them to take the oath of allegiance to the Government. This greatly enraged the members of the organization in this part of the State, and, finally, one Sunday, a large number of the "Knights" met at Monmouth, heavily armed and proceeded to Oquawka, on horseback, arriving there in the forenoon. They left their arms, however, at a farm house northeast of town and entered the town unarmed. A meeting was called at the court house and quite a concourse of people assembled. The leader of the invading army made a speech in which he informed the assembled people that interference with the Knights of the Golden Circle would not be tolerated, and that they proposed to compel the soldiers to cease making their members take the oath of allegiance even if they had to use force to do so.

The citizens of Oquawka, including the soldiers who were at home, became greatly excited over this occurrence and gave such voluble expression to their hostility to the "Knights" and gave such strong evidence of being willing, if necessary, to meet them in mortal combat, that the members of the invading army, with their leader, concluded that discretion was the better part of valor, mounted their horses, rode out to the farm house where they had left their weapons, secured them and silently rode away through the rain and so ended the "Battle of Yellow Banks."

The passing years, since the Civil War, have seen few, if, any, events of historical interest at Oquawka. Of course, locally, the little village has had its notable incidents. One incident is worthy of preservation, not that it has any particular interest as regards the State at large, but as a record of one of the greatest practical jokes ever perpetrated on an unsuspecting community. In the spring of 1870, there resided at Oquawka Jonathan Simpson, a lawyer, and the leader of the local bar, Rufus Scott, a merchant, and James Peterson, and Samuel Edwards who were men of means and had no particular occupation except that of loaning money. These four were great cronies, and, among them, the scheme was hatched. They purloined a skeleton from the office of the local doctors and buried it in an old deserted ice house down by the river. They then procured a man by the name of Wooders, who formerly had lived at Oquawka, but had removed to Dakota, to write a letter to Scott in which he stated that a short time previous he had had occasion to take a short journey and had roomed with a man at the tavern who stated to him that about two years before, he had run a raft down the Mississippi to St. Louis; that while on the way one of his men had received a fatal injury, but that before he died he had confessed that he and another man, about the beginning of the Civil War had been left by a raft at Oquawka, and that while spending the evening in a saloon there, they had noticed a man who displayed a large amount of money; that they got him drunk and then started out to show him a hotel: that they took him down by the river, robbed and murdered him, and concealed the body in an old ice house. Wooders wrote that from

the description he supposed it was a certain old ice house, (naming the one where the conspirators had buried the skeleton), Scott, of course, made the letter public, and the community became much excited. Peterson then proposed that the matter be investigated and headed a procession of citizens, armed with picks and shovels which marched down to the ice house in question. After a few minutes of diligent work, a skeleton of a man was revealed and dug up. Then the town went wild. The coroner of the county summoned a jury and held an inquest but the jury could not obtain any real evidence and returned an open verdict. The local newspapers came out with big head lines and speculated on the identity of the unknown man. There was no doubt in the mind of any but the conspirators that a foul murder had been committed and that the alleged confession was true. People began to remember things. One man recalled that, during the summer of 1862 he had spent the evening in the saloon at Oquawka and he remembered a stranger who displayed some money and remembered, also, two other strangers who had the appearance of rivermen, and he even described their apparel. Others remembered things to corroborate the murder theory. The truth did not become public for several years. The mind of the lawyer can be seen in the story. It was framed up so that it could not possibly cast suspicion on any member of the community.

As has been stated, Oquawka has been the county seat of Henderson County ever since its organization. It has not retained this honor, however, without contest. Seven attempts have been made to remove the county seat to other points. In 1859, 1865, 1869, 1872 and 1882 elections were held on the question of removal, but each time Oquawka was triumphant. No further effort was made until 1903 when a petition was filed for removal of the county seat to Stronghurst, a thriving village that had grown up on the line of the Santa Fe Railway. Through some defects, in the proceedings, the petition was dismissed, but in 1904 a new petition was filed and an election held. Stronghurst had a majority of votes for removal, but, owing to the decision of the court to the effect that Oquawka was nearer the center of the county than Stronghurst, a three-fifths majority was required for removal, and the majority falling short of that proportion, the movement for removal failed. Of all the county seat contests this last one was the most acrimonious and bitter, and its effects are yet discernible. In 1914 two petitions were filed, one praying for removal to Biggsville and one praying for removal to Stronghurst. Both petitions were dismissed by the court for the reason that the day fixed by law for an election on the question would, in November, 1914, be five days short of ten years since the preceding election, the period within which the Constitution forbids another election on the question.

Eighty-seven years have passed since the white man invaded the precincts of Yellow Banks for the purpose of settlement; years that have witnessed the most wonderful progress, years fraught with historic importance to the State, the Nation and the world. Through all the years, the Yellow Banks above the town have stood guard over the mighty river. The red man no longer threads the forests or paddles his canoe upon the Father of Waters. The pioneers have gone and a generation has arisen that knows them not; a generation that would be

incapable of doing what they did. Mrs. Robert Hodson, a daughter of S. S. Phelps, and who was one of the first white children born in Henderson County, and who resided there all her life, passed away a few months ago, and by her death, removed the last link that bound the modern to the ancient days.

Oquawka, the "Yellow Banks" of other years, its former glory departed, its wealth of memory its chief attraction, is nothing now but a river village of small repute, but it is proud of its lineage, its patriotism and its history.

DUDEN AND HIS CRITICS.

(By Miss Jessie J. Kile, University of Illinois.)

The German element is one of the large factors today in our population, but it does not figure extensively merely on the census books, for it has been a potent influence in making the American people and American civilization of today what it is. Perhaps some of our Anglo-Saxon friends would willingly deny this influence, but nevertheless it remains a fact which cannot be hid.

Especially at this time is it prominent, for a large share of the German sympathy in this country can be traced to it. Nor do we find the German element ashamed of the part they have played. Men who a short time ago were Americans and were proud of the fact, have become hyphenated and are now German-Americans and are, if anything even more proud of that. Let us hope that they may never have to decide which is the stronger, the German or the American, in case of trouble between these two countries, for although it is true that England has always been known as the Mother country of America, Germany has been the Fatherland to a large per cent of our population since 1830.

It was at that time that the emigration began to attract attention on account of its great volume, and from that time on during the middle of the century the movement was so strong as to excite general interest. Then it was that hundreds of descriptions of America were published. The great output of volumes dealing with journeys to this country between 1830 and 1860 could almost be compared to those now appearing on the European war. The reasons for these accounts were various; some were probably written for speculation, others from a desire to let their countrymen know of conditions here, and some simply to be writing something. Duden was actuated by the second motive when he wrote his "Report on a Journey to the Western States of America and Sojourn in Missouri from 1824 to 1827."

The author was a German physician whose scientific turn of mind did not confine itself to the study of bodily ailments alone. Noting the overpopulation and consequent poverty and want in many parts of Germany, he set out to find some remedy for this social evil, and it was for this purpose that he came to America and settled in Missouri for a time. He had decided that that state was best suited for his countrymen, and his sojourn there was in the nature of an experiment to prove this hypothesis.

When he returned to Germany he published his conclusions and this book is one of the most important sources in a study of German emigration to Illinois, as it probably had more influence than any other single cause in directing the movement to this section of the country. It is true that many were forced to leave their fatherland as political exiles on account of their participation in the uprisings of the "thirties"

and that of "forty-eight," but more would probably have done as some did, seek a temporary asylum in Switzerland or England until they could return to aid in a new revolt, if it had not been for Duden's Garden of Eden which he described so graphically.

These, however, are only a small proportion of the German emigrants to America, for although statistics are unavailable, when we read of the overpopulation, failure of crops and poverty in Germany, logic forces us to the conclusion that the greater number of those seeking new opportunities came for economic reasons. Indeed, definite efforts were made to interest the poorer classes in homes across the seas, and for this purpose Duden's book was used.

Gustav Körner in his review of this work says: "Duden's Report on a Journey to the Western States of North America has had more influence, especially on the better educated classes, than any of the other writings which have appeared in Germany concerning emigration from Europe and settlement in the Republic of North America. He who is interested in the important question of emigration seeks instruction or confirmation for his opinions in this book. It was read daily by many families before they carried out their intention to emigrate and became to them an irrefutable authority. Friends of emigration and those in favor of the movement have provided many thousand copies of this report in order to make it accessible to those of little means.

"Certainly this book has many qualities superior to most of the reports, correspondence and diaries which have been written on the same subject, and nearly all of which owe their origin either to speculation or to a bitter mood caused by a vanished hope. But it is also certain that this book owes its remarkable reputation to the favorable time at which it appeared; it is certain that the growing interest in emigration had an influence on its gracious reception, and that at no time had the ground been so favorable to receive the impression Duden produced and to develop it."

Körner's knowledge of the Germans was such that we are bound to give credence to his statements. A German political refugee himself, from his arrival in this country in 1833 throughout his whole life, he was interested in the question of German emigration and the life of his countrymen in this land, and this interest was not of the idle kind which leads to no results, but it was of such a vital nature that it made him a close observer of conditions and facts and finally led to the publication of his work on the German element in the United States.

The fact of the influence of this book is the important consideration in a treatise of the causes of German emigration, but in a study of the life of the Germans in America the question of the realization or disappointment of the hopes which Duden raised comes into prominence. Had the people found conditions as good or better than they expected, they would have been satisfied and would have begun immediately trying to take their places in the community. On the other hand, being disappointed, they were prone not to make the best of conditions as they were. Körner puts the matter even stronger and asserts that "many appear to die as victims of a climate to which they are unaccustomed who really could not withstand mental depression."

That some of the Germans were disappointed is evidenced by some of the numerous criticisms of Duden's description. A book that was so widely read and of such great influence was sure to have plenty of critics, and it is the work of these which shows how his countrymen interpreted the author's account, and the question for us is not how well his statements fit conditions, but how well the impression made on the minds of his readers correspond with the actualities.

His account of the climate and the criticisms of it show that some disappointment may have been due to the reader himself. Quite naturally the subject of climate was discussed at great length, as it is one of the chief considerations of interest to a person who is intending to seek a new part of the world as a home. The interest of the Germans, however, did not extend to all that the author said on the subject but only to those statements which stood out so prominently that they alone entered into the emigrant's conception of the climate. One of these is that the heat in summer is from 61° to 90° Fahrenheit during the day and that the nights are always cool. The author seeks to qualify this statement by saying that in the summer of 1825 the thermometer stood at 104° in the shade but according to the inhabitants this was unusual. In another place he says that Volney's records show that at one time the temperature at Kaskaskia was 110°.

The statements in regard to the winter which his countrymen remembered were his description of that of 1824-'25 during which, according to him, the woods never lost their green dress, snow did not fall, and the frost was so inconsiderable that one needed a fire only of mornings and evenings. But he again states that he has been told such weather was out of the ordinary and that usually the month of January was bad though the winter seldom began earlier than that time, and by the middle of February the rivers were free from ice. But from all this description of the climate the only impressions which, seemingly many of the Germans received were that the summer was cool and that the winter was mild.

But how far do the critics agree with Duden? Körner is the only one who takes up the subject to any extent, and he thinks with the author that the winters are milder than in Germany, but that the summers are warmer and that 104° is very oppressive to the Germans. Furthermore Körner scoffs at the idea that the people can cease working in the middle of the day and seek the thick woods in order to avoid the effects of the heat as Duden advises. He says that while these methods of keeping well and comfortable may be all right for a few, most people having to work for a living, are unable to avail themselves of them. His chief complaint, however, is that Duden generalizes from the one mild winter of 1824-'25 while refraining from doing so in regard to the one hot summer. However, it seems that his readers did the generalizing rather than that the author did it.

While the climate is a grave consideration to those seeking a new home, it is not so important as the general health in a region although the latter is dependent on the first in large measure. But no matter how pleasant the climate, if health, God's best gift to man, is denied that region is not to be considered as a future home.

What then, does Duden have to say of the healthfulness of the West, and how far do his critics agree with him? The twenty-first letter is devoted to this subject, but although the author mentions the different diseases most common to the country, he gives little or no idea as to how prevalent they are except that in Missouri one never has yellow fever although that disease has appeared on the Ohio River; that catarrhal fever and diseases of the lungs are not so common in the West as in the East, but that bilious and intermittent fevers are more common. But one finishes a cursory reading with the idea that there is nothing unusual about the conditions of health in this section of the country.

Nevertheless if one reads carefully this idea is somewhat dispelled, for in several places the writer speaks of the luxuriant vegetation and the strong exhalation from the damp soil as being very unhealthful, and he states that he cannot work in his garden during the middle of the day without being sick in spite of the formidable amount of medicines of various kinds which he took beforehand. These details, however, seem to have been lost on many, for even as careful a reader as Körner assumes that Duden does not give an accurate description of conditions.

The critic assures us that he will not use the summer of 1833 as an example, for that year the cholera raged even in Europe, and here every disease assumed such a virulent form that the number of new emigrants was more than decimated. But he declares that no American would accept Duden's impressions, for they know that under-cultivated land, or new country is unhealthful, a host of fever diseases raging there. He says that in all the homes he has been in, American as well as German, he did not meet more than ten men who did not complain of the poor health in the region and that when he was in Missouri he found most of the Germans suffering from the fever, although it was then the beginning of winter.

The conditions in St. Louis were especially bad, and as practically all of the Germans came there before deciding on the exact place in which to settle, they might easily become discouraged when they saw the conditions prevailing there, and indeed many of them did. One year one out of every thirty inhabitants of St. Louis died, and this did not include the Germans who were merely stopping there temporarily and among whom the mortality was excessive, particularly among those who came by way of New Orleans. They were unused to the climate and so were very susceptible to yellow fever and cholera which they were apt to contract on the voyage up the river. Very few companies of emigrants passed through the city without leaving one or more of their number buried there, and an almost constant tolling of the bells was kept up during the entire summer.

Duden advises the emigrants to shun the river valleys and low places as unhealthful and to seek the hills at a distance from the streams. Körner, however, points out that while this is good advice from one point of view, from another it is decidedly difficult for most of the emigrants to follow it. A man who has barely been able to support his family, to say nothing of living in decency and comfort, wishes

when he emigrates to settle in that place in which he can most improve his condition, and this place is in the valleys and not on the hills.

This brings us to a consideration of the opinions of Duden and his critics on the fertility of the soil. Duden describes three grades of soil, that extraordinarily fertile which will need no care for a hundred years, the moderately fertile, and the poor soil. But again his readers overlook the disadvantages. The Tscharners from Chur declare "the land was not so especially fertile as Duden says." The author replies to this by asking just how fertile he said it was. He calls attention to the apparently neglected fact that he had said that there was soil of differing degrees of fertility. Köpfli, who settled at Highland, Illinois, declares that in St. Louis he met many Swiss and Germans from Missouri who said that the soil was not so good in that state as Duden had led them to believe and that it was too much work and too expensive to root out the woods. On the other hand Körner assures us that what Duden said about the fertility of this section was not exaggerated.

This conflict of statements can be at least partially accounted for by two sets of facts. The first relates to the place where the critic settled and by the fertility of which he was apt to judge that of the entire West. Körner settled near Belleville and so was intimately acquainted with the rich American Bottom. The other two critics were speaking of parts of Missouri and probably not that along the Missouri River either, for by the time that Dr. Köpfli and Tscharners came to this country the land along the river was well taken up until the western counties were reached.

The second determining factor is the critics' interpretation of Duden's statements and his expectations based upon them. This matter cannot be as definitely decided as that of the place of settlement, but from a careful study of Körner's review and from some knowledge of his methods of work, it would seem that he had read the book closely, while probably the others had not been so thorough and had allowed the impression made by the description of the best land (which occupies the most space in Duden's report) to overshadow that made by his mention of the poor land.

Another contradiction of statements is found in criticisms in regard to a subject closely related to the fertility of the soil, that of rooting out the woods. Tscharners, Köpfli and Körner all maintain that the cultivation of wood-land was a much more difficult undertaking than Duden's statements would lead one to expect. The first two both declared that the reason they settled on Illinois prairie land was because of this difficulty in Missouri. But on the other hand, one member of the Emigration Society of Giessen called Duden "a lying hound" and other similar names because he had found no woods worthy of the name in the Missouri River Valley in that section in which he wished to settle. The explanation of this discrepancy is even easier than that of the other. This disappointed man had not come to America until several years had elapsed after Duden's report appeared, and by that time the woods in the section to which he came had been cleared.

Whether Duden's statement that the cattle, horses and pigs can seek their food in the woods and need no shelter had any influence on this man, we do not know. If it did it would have been nullified if

he had read Körner's statement that "it is almost never the case that domestic animals can be wintered without expense and if it were done it would be followed by the bad condition or even death of the animals. Likewise there is no offering of fodder, as Duden thinks, to attach them more closely to the place, but simply to keep them from starving."

It is easy to understand how these points were vital questions to the German emigrant and that a wrong impression of them would cause serious disappointment. It is hard, however, for an American today to attach such importance to the subject to which Körner devotes more criticism than to any other single point, i. e., the beauty of the country. Indeed the critic himself says that "the usual emigrant who seeks to escape the hard pressure of circumstances through his undertaking and who changes his location in order not to see himself and his family in need is indifferent to whether he lights upon a charming valley, steep rocky crags and mountains piercing the heavens or not. On the contrary he will prefer a land not cut up by hills as the best for agriculture. In the end, therefore, the lack of great natural beauty need frighten away no class of emigrants, for it really is not a cause which drives men from the place of their youth and of their dearest memories, from the circle of their friends and from the bounds of their fatherland—still I know that many lay no little weight for their emigration on the beauty of nature."

As Körner was well acquainted with many Germans who had emigrated to this section in that period we conclude that this motive must have had some influence. But if the personal interpretation enters into a discussion of the fertility of the soil, how much more must it be taken into account in one on the subject of beauty.

Furthermore the critic has here, more than in any other place, read his own ideas into the words of the author. For instance Duden says that some of the hills along the rivers of Ohio and Missouri are so large that in Germany they would be called mountains. Körner evidently expected to find mountains in the real sense of the word, although Duden says that here they are called hills. At least the critic discourses at great length upon the fact that these elevations are not mountains and that any German would know that they were not; although he admits that in common speech in the fatherland they would probably be so-called, which was all that Duden said.

But are there no dark features in Duden's picture? Did he find no inconveniences or discomforts in the western states of America? He mentions, indeed, two drawbacks in this Garden of Eden. The first was the presence of swarms of mosquitoes. But even here, according to the critics, he does not make it dark enough. Körner says that from Duden one would think they were an infrequent visitation, but that on the contrary they are a continuous summer and winter plague which will decrease only when the land is cleared and drained and will never entirely disappear in the river bottoms. He says the people of the Rhenish districts had been hardened against this insect at home but here they were so bad as to be almost unbearable even to them. The second drawback was the difficulty in obtaining help. This was a greater one than many realize, for the impression is apt to prevail that the German emigrants were a thrifty, hard-working people and especially

that the German women were capable housewives. This was true of many, but among the majority of political refugees the women knew little more of housework than the men did of farming which was practically none at all. The unanimous testimony of this class is that this lack of help was the chief difficulty which they met. Even those who brought servants with them were usually left to shift for themselves unless the servants were attached to the family by bonds of affection. Körner says that he knew many families who would have returned to their early home if it had been at all possible on this account alone.

But why did this difficulty appear so much greater to others than to Duden? He was not a man accustomed to performing hard manual labor and so it was not because he did not need help that it was less for him. But he availed himself of a way out of this trouble which those in this State could not use even if their conscience would have permitted. He had at least one domestic slave. Most of the Germans in the southern part of Illinois came to America intending to settle in Missouri, but seeing what the institution of slavery was like, they were compelled by their political ideals of "Liberty, Fraternity and Equality" to come to a free state. Duden, however, had no such qualms and not only owned a slave but sought to justify slavery to his countrymen.

This explains why this difficulty did not appear so insurmountable to Duden as to the other Germans, but what explanation can we give of the fact that the rest of the picture he drew was so much more beautiful than the reality? Did he exaggerate with the deliberate intention of deceiving or did he simply look at the world through rose-colored spectacles? If the former, what was his motive; and if the latter, what were the causes of his optimism, was it a cheerful disposition which enabled him to overlook discomforts and hardships that seriously disturbed others or was it a favorable position which the common emigrant did not enjoy?

So far as I have been able to find out no one has ever accused Duden of wilful and malicious exaggeration for an interested motive. He was not interested in land speculation nor many of the emigration and colonization schemes of the time. He came to America for his health and to satisfy his curiosity, likewise to find out what part of the country was most advantageous for German emigrants, for he had become interested in the problem of relieving the congested conditions in Germany but his motive was philanthropic entirely and not the charitable kind mixed with desire for gain which at least to outward appearances was back of some of the colonization societies. We can only conclude therefore that he was honest in his description and then search for the reasons for his mistaken ideas, and these are not hard to find, for he gives them to us.

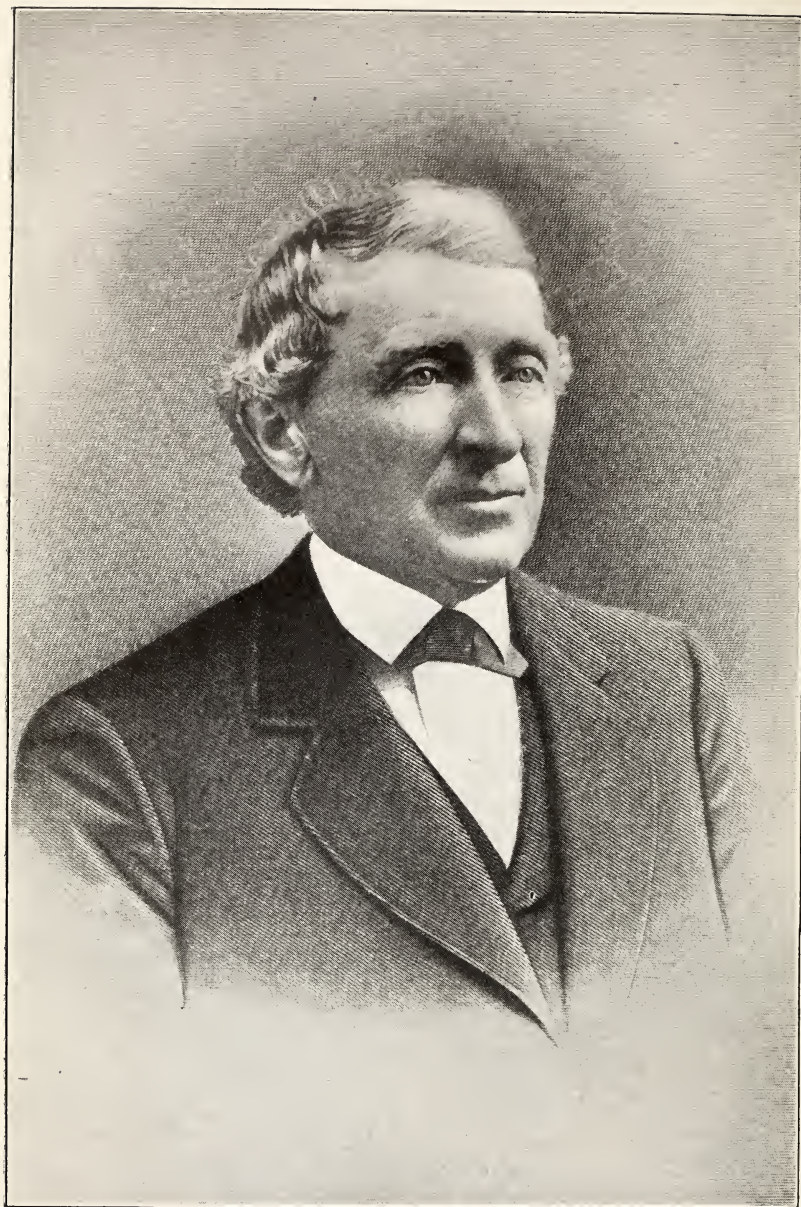
He was highly educated, but so were many other German emigrants who found conditions far from ideal, in fact it is among this class that we find the greatest complaints. But unlike the majority of them Duden did not try to support himself by farming, a business of which most of them knew nothing. Duden was a physician, furthermore he was without a family and had inherited sufficient property to enable him to live without working if he so desired. Then his sojourn in this country, as stated before, was in the nature of a scientific experiment which

was to demonstrate whether his countrymen would benefit themselves by leaving their fatherland, whereas most of the other emigrants were without the hope of returning even if they did not like their new home. However, the majority of them agreed that they had bettered themselves though not so much as Duden's report had led them to expect.

Their sentiments are expressed by one man who said: "I am happy and well satisfied now; the first two years were very difficult for me but now that I am accustomed to the land, its customs and speech I have long forgotten my old home."

And so it was with most of the emigrants. Though disappointed at first they made the best of conditions as they found them and eventually became accustomed to the land, many of them developing into influential citizens and leaders of the communities in which they lived.





Elise Mr. Fell

JESSE W. FELL.

(By Miss Frances Morehouse, Normal, Illinois.)

Of all the men who led in Illinois affairs during the middle of the century, Jesse W. Fell has perhaps the distinction of being the most nearly forgotten, save in the places where he left the living monument of trees to speak of him to generations other than his own. Rarely indeed are qualities of leadership such as he possessed, united with a modesty so extreme. It seems to have been his distinct wish to avoid the rewards that men give to those whom they delight to honor; and as a consequence his name has not found its way into many of those records which tell the deeds of his contemporaries. His work was of a nature too permanent, however, and of an importance too entirely beyond denial, always to escape recognition and appraisal. I am hoping, in the brief account I shall give of it here, to show by what means a pioneer of the finest type labored to build up the civic wealth of his State.

He was of Quaker blood and training, an elder son of a large family living in Chester County, Pennsylvania. Born in 1808, he grew to manhood at the time of the great migration which began with the second quarter-century. He had been educated in the subscription schools of the Friends and in a private school taught by an enthusiastic botanist, Joshua Hoopes, who interested him in agriculture as a science and in the lore of trees. He wanted to go to the West, but lacked money and set about, at the age of twenty, to earn his way by means which helped many men of his day toward the realizing of their ambitions; he taught school, sold books, clerked in a store. Finally, being then on the way to the West, he studied law for two years with a firm at Steubenville, Ohio. Having passed his bar examinations, and well armed with letters and credentials, he set out on the final stage of his journey early in October of 1832, bound for the Illinois country, then in the Far West.

John T. Stuart of Springfield was the leading lawyer of that time in Illinois. Having secured a bar certificate at Jacksonville, Fell went to Stuart for advice as to the best place for a young lawyer who was anxious to establish a practice quickly. He was advised to go to Bloomington, a prairie town scarce two years old. When a visit of inspection had shown him the possibilities of the place, which boasted no lawyer as yet, he sent back to Ohio for the law library which his former teacher had promised him, and in the spring of 1833 opened an office.

The five years following, years of unexampled recklessness in land investment, banking and internal improvement, were years also of a marvelous growth in permanent settlements and in the instruments of civilization in the Middle West. In the light of the catastrophe of 1837, it is easy to underestimate the value of the blind progress of the "Wild-cat" period in the building up of the nation. Mr. Fell, always a land man, began his operations by locating tracts for eastern investors and

handling the rapidly-changing claims of the settlers. Before many years he came to be a land-holder himself—an example of the phenomenally rapid acquiring of riches possible only under the unique condition of that time—a condition of practically free land awaiting the taking. He was never a man who craved wealth; and although at different periods of his life he was possessed of considerable fortunes, he rarely held these over a period of business reverses. He was one of those adventurous souls who hold wealth lightly, use it freely in any enterprise which may happen to engage their interest, lose gamely, and regain successfully.

Between 1834 and 1837 Fell was possessed of large tracts of land in Wisconsin and Illinois, including parts of the sites of the present cities of Chicago and Milwaukee. He was commissioner of school lands for McLean County in 1834 and 1835, and in the latter year became the agent of the newly-established State Bank of Illinois, which operated until the crash of 1837 put an end to the mortgage-making which it had carried on for two or three years. During the 40's and 50's he held a great deal of farm land as well as much town property. The law practice was turned over to David Davis in 1836, and although later he was forced to return to it when there was no market for real estate, Fell seems always to have regarded the law as a last expedient, and preferred to spend his time in other ways.

He is best remembered, probably, aside from his memorable friendship for Lincoln, for his real estate operations in Illinois and Iowa. His first considerable venture seems to have been the founding, with James Allen, of the town of Clinton, in DeWitt County, Illinois, in 1835. The partners acquired a tract of land, divided it into town lots, laid out streets, and then planted those streets to trees. Tree-planting was always an essential part of town-planning with Jesse Fell. In 1841, being on a visit to friends in the East, he studied the streets of West Philadelphia, and came back filled with a resolve to make the streets of whatever towns he might help to found in his adopted State, similar to those of that tree-girt city. A small nursery was always a part of his own premises; from this and from others he took the young trees with which he planted streets and building-lots, personally supervising the planting with a care so minute that very few of the trees he set out ever died. In this way many thousands of trees sprang up in the prairie, wherever Jesse Fell owned land or could influence men to follow his example; and in a generation the aspect of the bare pioneer towns had changed to one of beauty and comfort.

During the decade following 1850 there was a revival of activity in real estate markets that rivalled that of the 30's. Pontiac, Lexington, Towanda, Clinton, LeRoy and ElPaso were towns in which Fell was actively interested. He made additions to Bloomington and Decatur, and dealt extensively in town lots in Joliet and Dwight. In 1854 North Bloomington, later called Normal, was planned. With the founding of these places, the question of means of transportation became important. First in the making of wagon-roads, then in securing post-routes and railroads, Jesse Fell was indefatigable. He procured, for instance, the surveying of a wagon-road from Bloomington to Towanda, although he did not succeed in having it extended to Lexington. During his residence at Fruit Hill, near Payson, in Adams County, he secured a

straight road of twelve miles to Quincy. In these and similar activities, his knowledge of surveying stood him in hand, as he was himself able to lay out routes and decide questions which might otherwise have waited indefinite settlement.

When the era of railroad making began, Jesse Fell led in the popular support which so largely secured this means of transportation in an earlier day. As early as 1835, when William L. D. Ewing sent a request to a group of citizens of Bloomington for cooperation in building the proposed Illinois Central Railroad, his name appears among those interested in the project. Nothing came of this for several years, however. Fell's name appears a little later among the incorporators of the Pekin, Bloomington and Wabash Railroad; and this effort also waited a number of years for its accomplishment. As the chief factor in the elaborate internal improvement scheme of 1837, the Illinois Central figured prominently in politics from 1843, when it was taken up by the Great Western Railway Company, until 1851, when construction was begun. Powerful influences were brought to bear upon the promoters to change the original route proposed by General Ewing, which passed from "Ottawa, or some other suitable point on the Illinois River, through Bloomington, Decatur, Shelbyville, Vandalia and thence to the mouth (or near it) of the Ohio River on the most practicable and convenient route," to one passing further eastward and southward, and particularly through Peoria and Springfield. Fell persuaded Gridley to become a candidate for the State senatorship that he might work for the interests of the towns on the original route; and Gridley finally succeeded in inserting a clause in the act of incorporation which provided for such a route.

At the time when the Illinois Central was being built through Bloomington, an extension from Springfield to Bloomington of the Alton and Sangamon, now the Chicago and Alton Railroad, was being surveyed. With the completion of this road and the Illinois Central, railroad connection between Chicago and St. Louis was established. In 1853 the Chicago and Mississippi, of which the Alton and Sangamon was a branch, secured right of way from Bloomington to Joliet, and the work of construction began promptly. In all these enterprises Fell took a leading part, and from the building of these roads he reaped a rich harvest financially, for the roads ran through towns in which he had large holdings, towns which with the advent of railroads grew rapidly in size. Moreover, he furnished ties for these new roads from his timber lands in Southern Illinois. He helped to secure the location of the shops of the Chicago and Mississippi at Bloomington, and had the station placed at a point which would later on stimulate the growth of the educational suburb which he early planned for his own city.

The need of an east-and-west railroad was keenly felt, and in 1853 Fell and others organized a company to build a "Wabash and Warsaw" railroad, a project foreshadowed in the "Pekin, Bloomington and Wabash" of 1836. The story of the accomplishment of this dream is too long to be told here. It is enough to say, that in the efforts made to interest the people along the proposed route, Fell was the chief worker. All his efforts failed quite to realize the necessary support, the project being on a scale which looked formidable indeed to men of a foresight less sweeping than his own. After the financial depression of

1857 the idea was dropped for about a decade, but taken up again in 1866. A number of roads were advocated; citizens of Danville were working for one from their city to Bloomington through LeRoy and Urbana, while others wanted a road directly from Bloomington to Lafayette through Chaney's Grove. In June, 1867, after a winter and spring of valiant campaigning, support was secured for both roads; and they were completed in 1870 and 1872 respectively. Although the east-and-west communication thus finally secured was not so direct as its projectors had at first hoped to make it, there was much satisfaction in the realization of a plan so long fostered; and the roads have proved practical and useful. Later, in the rebuilding of the Chicago and Alton shops and in securing a street railway between Bloomington and Normal, Mr. Fell gave good service.

In all these enterprises he showed, in an era which is usually supposed to antedate the time of "big business," a peculiar facility in dovetailing the elements of industrial growth. All things, under the impetus of his clear vision and his power of winning men to his ideas, worked together for progress and prosperity. He had chosen, early in his career, the material development of his part of the country for his peculiar work; and he produced, in one way or another, surprising results in the process of changing stretches of prairie into farms, villages and towns bound together by the means of communication and exchange.

But unlike many men who render notable service to the material development of their communities, Mr. Fell was also intensely and actively interested in education. As has been noted, he planned from an early day to found a school town north of Bloomington. His original idea seems to have been to erect a "seminary" there. But when the movement to found a State normal school was begun in 1853, he joined himself to the forces of those who seemed to have a chance quickly to realize their aims, and began to work for the establishment of a State school for training teachers. With Jonathan B. Turner, he himself was most interested in the founding of a State industrial college wherein technical training of all kinds might be had, as well as the usual cultural studies; but being no impractical visionary, and knowing that such a school could as yet secure little popular support, he bent his energies toward what was possible of accomplishment. After a lively campaign, the location of the projected school was fixed at Bloomington, where in after years Mr. Fell was instrumental in locating also the Soldiers' Orphans' Home. When the delayed issue of a State industrial school was brought up after the Civil war, he was equally active in an effort to locate it in his own town, but failed. Being a good loser, he afterward gave to Gregory, then struggling with the problem of establishing classes in subjects for which no teachers were to be found, and in working out from the mass of ill-digested ideas and prejudices presented to him for adoption, a practical policy for a new kind of school, his hearty and efficient support.

An examination of his papers and his printed articles and speeches upon educational topics, shows that Mr. Fell held to a remarkable extent those ideas and theories which have later come to be commonly accepted educational policy. He believed that, for purposes of economical administration, State institutions of similar nature should be located in one

place. His ideal of a State university, for instance, was far more comprehensive than that of most educators of his time, although in recent years many such institutions have been built. He advocated industrial training for the children at the State orphanage, saying that the State committed a crime in sending its wards from under its care without any means of earning a living. Since his day the obligation of the State to furnish vocational training, not only for orphans but for "all the children of all the people," has come to be widely recognized.

Mr. Fell's participation in politics was entirely that of a beneficent political boss, for at no time would he accept office for himself. During the years from his coming to the State, to the close of the Liberal Republican campaign of 1872, however, he exercised great influence in one way and another, upon the course of events. This came about through his personal friendship for leaders and for voters, because of a love for management which found in this way an expression both worthy its exercise and fascinatingly uncertain in result, and because of an unfaltering faith in men which invested democratic governments, for him, with dignity and responsibility. Possessed of an integrity which no man ever successfully challenged and few ever even pretended to doubt, he entered into the game of politics with zest, and although he lost not infrequently, he brought to his activities in this field an idealism which made them always worth while to him.

Trained in the school of Clay, he remained true to the Whig party until the organization, in 1856, of the Republican party in Illinois. The campaign of 1840 marks his active entrance into politics, his efforts before this time being mainly in the way of securing various favors for regions in which he was interested. With the Hard Cider campaign began his long friendship for Grindley, who entered the State legislature shortly afterward, and through many years was helpful to Fell in securing the legislative acts which were necessary to the carrying out of his plans. Although Fell's own activities never included office-seeking or office-holding, he served politically in many capacities—as secretary and committee-member, as speaker and presiding officer at countless meetings, as writer of editorials and resolutions and broadsides, as general manager behind the scenes of the political drama. Upon occasion he expressed himself vigorously and effectively, as in the repudiation controversy of 1843-45, when he published an open letter to the Legislature which was widely copied and seems to have had considerable influence in saving the honor of the State. He was an indefatigable correspondent, and the men of his day who held offices in the State considered his opinions worth serious consideration. The Fell manuscripts include letters from many men who consulted the quiet Quaker in Bloomington before acting in matters of importance.

It is in connection with the stirring events of the 60's, which culminated in the election of Lincoln, that Fell is of most interest to people of this generation; and that because of his strong and close friendship with the Emancipator himself. He and Lincoln had been fast friends since the days of the first meeting at Vandalia in 1834, when Stuart made them acquainted and the three men lived at the same hotel. They had met upon the circuit, had been affiliated in political affairs, and Lincoln was a frequent visitor at the Fell homestead in Bloomington. It

was Jesse Fell who first suggested the Lincoln-Douglas debates, in 1854; and it was he, who in the autumn of 1858, having sounded men of all kinds in a journey through the eastern, northern and central states, urged him to consider the presidency. He continued, with many other Illinois friends of Lincoln, to work for him through 1859, his position of secretary of the State Central Committee giving him peculiar facilities for learning the attitude of his own State toward Lincoln. With Joseph J. Lewis of Pennsylvania, he spread in that important state, early in 1860, the gospel of Lincoln's candidacy; and the importance of this pre-convention work through newspapers and meetings, was evident in May at Chicago.

The details of Fell's political influence belong to the history of the causes of events rather than to any history of those events as they finally took place, and are therefore interesting only to those who care for that rather intricate sort of annals. We are concerned merely that he be recognized as one of the potent forces in bringing about the results which were dear to his heart—the results which he conceived as the expression of those principles with which his thrifty abolitionist Quaker training had endowed him, and the results the achievement of which furnished him a game in which his soul delighted.

There remains to mention his work as one of the early newspaper men in Illinois. It was one of his first cares, upon taking up his residence in Bloomington, to establish a newspaper for McLean County. He interested James Allin, merchant and leading citizen, in the venture, and a printing press was purchased for them in Philadelphia in 1836. This press, with other equipment, came by water through New Orleans to St. Louis, and later up the Illinois River to Canton, whence it was carted overland to Bloomington. It was months in making this trip, and the first number of *The Observer and McLean County Advocate* did not appear until January 14, 1837. William Hill, who had been persuaded to come from St. Louis to be its editor, became discouraged after a time and left, whereupon Fell himself undertook the editing of the little paper, and continued it until the hard times of 1839 forced him to give it up. Bloomington had no newspaper then until 1845, when the *McLean County Register* was published for a few months, to be succeeded by the *Western Whig*, in which Mr. Fell was associated with Charles P. Merriman and others in the early 50's. For many years after this he was not actively engaged in newspaper work, although he used the columns of the *Pantagraph* and other publications to further his projects of all kinds. For a short time in 1868 he again edited the *Pantagraph*; but soon retired in favor of his son-in-law, W. O. Davis.

It is hoped that this brief account may give some clear idea of a man who contributed much, and in typical ways although to an unusual degree, to the development of his State. Many of his activities have been barely touched upon, or omitted entirely. No account of his activities could indicate the scope of his influence, which through a long life made always for tolerance and breadth of judgment, for soundness in civic life, for faith in the future, and for energy and courage in facing problems and working them out.

THE STORY OF THE BANKER-FARMER MOVEMENT ORIGINATING WITH THE ILLINOIS BANKERS' ASSOCIATION.

(By B. F. Harris, former President, 1911-12.)

It is not unusual that the country banker, and that means 1,600 of the 1,900 bankers in Illinois, who is brought so closely into touch with the inefficiencies and short comings of farming and farm life would appreciate their needs more than most men, but it is most unusual that a great state organization should give so largely of its time and means and effort in behalf of another set of men.

Such unselfish effort even today is not customary, though in the future it must and will be more general, but five years ago it was unheard of.

It is cause for just pride and official historical record that the Illinois Bankers' Association first inaugurated and maintained such a service and with such zeal and effectiveness that it has spread into every state in the Union and is known every where as the "banker-farmer" movement.

The Illinois Bankers' Association was not alone the first to take up a comprehensive agricultural welfare program, but the Illinois Association led the bankers, as the only class of business men who, in their great State and national organization, have stepped beyond the borders of their personal or selfish purpose and undertaken such a work.

Some of the members of the Illinois Bankers' Association had in 1908-9 begun to talk of the advantage and necessity for such action but the conservative element believed such work to be beyond the province or function of a bankers association.

October 26, 1910, at the annual convention in Cairo, the chairman of the Executive Council (B. F. Harris) breaking through the regular program and his prerogative, delivered an address from which the following paragraphs are taken:

"It occurs to me that this association not alone can but should be a power in the business and commercial life of the State.

"It has done, it seems to me—aside from the personal things for itself—all too little in the general uplift. Aside from the things supposedly for its purely personal welfare, it has been content with this annual social meeting and the listening to a few good addresses, usually on pertinent personal subjects.

"If this association is to justify its organization and continuance it should, as I see it, strive to be an active, energetic, helpful, progressive force, having for its purpose the accomplishment of real and tangible needs, not for itself alone, but for the whole State.

"If we are to do something more than we have done it should be the function of some of your executive officers to make the suggestion, and for you to determine as to the merit of the suggestion.

"As of necessity the banker occupies a more or less commanding position in his community, therefore his voice should always be on the side which is not alone for the upbuilding of his community from the money-making side, but for progress along all lines of public welfare.

"The banker who has the proper vision of his calling is working in these directions.

"He should have an active, aggressive desire to promote better agricultural methods and conditions, and to protect and promote the public credit and confidence with the soundest and safest banking methods possible.

"I do not believe that anyone can be a good business man who is not at the same time a good citizen in all that the term implies.

"We are always to remember that principles are infinitely greater than dollars and will be while the world lives.

"What we need in this country is not a large standing army of soldiers, but a standing army of righteous, militant citizens, in constant warfare against the unscrupulous men and measures that menace us, and the bankers should be in the front ranks of this army.

"The man who devotes all his time to the accumulation of property, straddling or evading vital business and governmental questions; oblivious of the debt he owes society; absorbing everything he touches, giving nothing in return, is the type of citizen that is little better than the one who goes wrong, for his selfishness makes the other possible."

If any two men go hand in hand and play the larger part in the matter of good times, it is the farmer and the banker. Big crops at good prices are the basis of it all and then a liberal, progressive, sound banking system helps keep going all that the farmer's work and product has set in motion.

Nearly every banker in this State is directly, constantly and intimately associated with farmers—is selfishly and ought to be genuinely interested in their success in general and in a successful, permanent agriculture in particular—yet what little effort has been made to help in the work, outside the experiment stations.

"Our association is the oldest and largest of all State associations and we should strive to make it also the best and most progressive."

One result of these remarks was a resolution, unanimously passed, providing that a committee be appointed from the membership to be known as the committee on "Agriculture and Education."

This committee consisted of B. F. Harris, Chairman, Champaign; W. G. Edens, Secretary, Chicago; George Pasfield, Jr., Springfield; Harry Schirding, Petersburg; William George, Aurora.

Though changes were made in the personnel of this committee each year Messrs. Edens and Harris served in their positions for four years.

The committee immediately took up an aggressive campaign among the association members and because it was novel and unique for bankers to undertake such work, as well as because their purpose was clearly helpful and constructive, the public press gave much space and great aid to the cause.

The work and scope of the committee widened rapidly and broadly until it touched the public welfare on many sides and far afield from banking.

One of the very first and most vital and successful of all this committee's undertakings was the original and pioneer movement in the north for farm demonstration—the having an experienced and trained agricultural advisor or county agent in each county.

This plan was outlined in a circular distributed early in 1911, and in the summer, with a pamphlet entitled "What the Illinois Bankers' Association is trying to do for Illinois and the Union,"—referring to "Federal Agricultural Demonstration and State Agricultural Education." This pamphlet carried a copy of the bill which our committee had prepared and which had been introduced in Congress and received wide endorsement. Furthermore we had taken a nation wide committee of bankers to Washington to urge its passage.

Our bill was afterwards merged into the Lever, then the Smith-Lever bill, now written into the Federal statutes.

In the meantime, our bankers—not waiting for Federal or local appropriations—started the first northern county demonstrator movement in DeKalb County.

Later we prepared and passed a bill through the State Legislature authorizing county boards to appropriate annually up to \$5,000 to maintain a county agent. Seventeen counties now have such agents and other counties are rapidly falling into line.

Our circulars read, "Why should not Illinois, in the mighty cause of agriculture; of maximum crops; of all improvements that follow these, have one hundred field agents, one in each county, the good results of whose work is beyond computation, multiplying greater than any seed or dollar that could be sown."

In the meantime the Breeders' Gazette of Chicago (March 29, 1911) had stated, in an extended editorial that "The president of the Illinois Bankers' Association (B. F. Harris), is probably the first man of his profession in this country to insist that the time has come when banking in agricultural regions should include some type of definite action to promote sound systems of agriculture. According to him, a banker should make his commanding position in a community yield public as well as personal benefits. Financial leadership or prominence imposes obligations to town, county, State and nation which he says ought to be paid in full. Bankers can strengthen the foundations of their own business by taking an active interest in community-building."

On January 15, 1912, The Prairie Farmer referred editorially to the president of the Illinois Bankers' Association as "the father of the demonstration farm movement in Illinois" while the Breeders' Gazette on January 31, 1912, referring to the bill in Congress remarked: "If any idea can be said to have an individual citizen as a father, the paternal ancestor of this one is the president of the Illinois Bankers' Association."

Our work passed on through many phases, encouraged and explained in many thousands of pamphlets widely scattered.

In the meantime the chairman had become president of the Illinois Bankers' Association (1911-12), which but added strength and prestige

to the movement, and many State associations, appreciating and desiring to take up the work asked to have the story told them.

In the spring of 1911 we had asked the officers of every state bankers association to send as delegates to an agricultural conference to be held in November in New Orleans, at the annual convention of the American Bankers' Association, bankers who were similarly interested.

As a result we drew a resolution, adopted by the American Bankers' Association recognizing the great importance of the movement and appointing a committee, which two years ago was enlarged into a very active "Agricultural Commission." This commission prints (here in Illinois), a widely circulated, non-commercial monthly in support of the work.

Meanwhile our Illinois committee had been actively at work in educational matters in the State.

Our 1911 circulars stated that "The welfare of rural life demands a new kind of rural school. The desire for better schools draws many country people to the city. There are more than 10,000 practically one-room country schools in Illinois, with over 300,000 boys and girls in attendance, 85 per cent of whom have no other advantages. This 85 per cent (250,000) should have the best there is to be had."

We advocated vocational work, compulsory agricultural education and consolidated schools.

In 1912 we called a conference of all the varied interests of the State, who were or should be interested in better schools. The various clubs and federations of women's and commercial clubs; of labor, manufacturers, teachers, farmers, etc., and of every university and normal school in the State, all were represented at the four meetings and eight committee meetings.

The president of the Illinois Bankers' Association had called and was required to serve as chairman of this conference, which issued its report in January, 1913, known as the "Conference Vocational Educational Bill." It was opposed to the so-called "Cooley" bill and was probably the means of defeating the latter before the 1913 Legislature.

Shortly after this our committee made an extended investigation into the dairy situation, especially in the Chicago district and issued a lengthy report, which has been widely referred to, and was instrumental in securing better results for the milk producers.

In the fall of 1913 we undertook a State wide survey among bankers and farmers and also through the county officers of Farmers' Institutes, to gather data on rural credits, "to determine as to the ability with which and the conditions under which farmers were securing personal and mortgage credit and the relation between the bank and the farmer."

Much interesting data was secured and compiled, with much work and care for the committee. Among other facts it was developed that 62 per cent of all the stockholders in the banks outside of Cook County were farmers and that the farmers controlled more than half the banks of the State and were treated as well or better than any other class of bank customers.

During all this time, the matter of roads had not escaped the attention of the association.

One of the first acts of the association president in 1911-12 was the appointment of a committee on "Good Roads" with S. E. Bradt of DeKalb as chairman.

Circular letters were at once sent out over the State asking some twenty questions calculated to develop the fact that we badly needed a first class State road law, that no progress could be made under existing law and that the people and tax payers wanted first class roads and State aid.

This committee developed the first and most representative census taken in this line and was largely instrumental in securing State action, the Governor appointing Mr. Bradt one of the three State Highway commissioners under the Tice Road Act.

Meanwhile the Illinois Bankers' Association had been divided, geographically in ten groups, each of which was organized with chairman, etc., and practically every county in each group was similarly organized to work for "the banker-farmer" program, and the slogan for all was "Create a soil as well as a bank reserve."

One or more meetings of each of these organizations is held annually, all open to farmers and the public, the program being very largely given over to public welfare work.

Speaking of the annual convention of the Illinois Bankers' Association in Peoria, September 25-26, 1912, the Peoria Herald said:

"This program is unique in the fact that it is the first convention program of an association or class of business men ever given over entirely to matters of public welfare. Every subject on the program is of vital interest to every citizen.

"The fact that a bankers' association is doing this is significant.

"The fact that the Illinois Bankers' Association inaugurated such a public welfare policy should be a matter of State pride, which increases when we see that many other Bankers' State organizations, as well as the American Bankers' Association is falling into line. This is one of the finest signs of the times."

At the annual convention held at Springfield, October 10-12, 1911, the agricultural committee took charge of an entire afternoon session with a strictly agricultural program, the first of this character ever held. Prominent speakers addressed an audience exceeding 2,000 people including the Governor and the Supreme Court which adjourned to attend the meeting in a body.

The Saturday Evening Post, writing of the work stated that "Bankers' associations in other states than Illinois have followed the lead of the Illinois Bankers' Association in working for better methods of farming, conservation of the soil, boys' corn clubs, agricultural instruction in the country schools, better public roads and like objects. * * *

"Until quite recently the railroads were almost alone among business concerns in undertaking broad-gauge development of this sort. Why shouldn't the bankers everywhere take it up?"

The United States Investor wrote, "The Illinois Bankers' Association appears to possess a fairly good title to the reputation of being about as energetic a body of its kind as we have in this country. Not

content with bending its resources to the single task of improving conditions within the profession for the bankers of its State, it has embarked upon several enterprises for the general internal improvement of Illinois.

"Interest in good roads it has shown, and has just printed some data on the subject. Its interest in agricultural education has given the topic a new importance, and bankers' associations all over the country are beginning to have discussions about it. The president of the association has been the prime mover on this end of the work, and as a result, has been asked to address the annual meetings of almost if not quite a dozen state bankers' associations.

"There is something really inspiring about the new appreciation of agricultural conditions which the bankers of the country are showing."

The opening paragraphs of the address and report of the retiring president of the association at Peoria, September 25, 1912, ran as follows:

"* * * No man liveth unto himself alone" * * * "nor by bread alone," are the words inspired by the "Giver of all things good."

They are truer today, at least better appreciated and more necessity is found for their consideration and application, than when they were given as "gospel."

Curious as it may seem, the further we pass from the days of the decalogue and the prophets, through their seasoning by the centuries, the closer we come to their eternal truths.

This age of efficiency and service, in order to produce these results, has had, not unwillingly to accept them as the guide of business, the rule of reason, as well as the rule of faith, and the banker shall not be the last to be led by them.

Man has two great concerns in life, one the conquest of his environment, the other to express and interpret what life means to him.

It is possible for bankers, who are generally well advanced in such conquest, to demonstrate that a fuller life means a completer conquest of the forces that retard public welfare.

The banker is among the most important men in his community, whether he knows it or not.

He should be the bravest man in town and the least afraid of criticism.

We need more men of all classes who appreciate their obligations to the community, who stand for something besides themselves.

So long as we understand that the prosperity and perpetuity of the nation depends upon the welfare and success of the average man and the average woman, so long will we put the public welfare in the first place.

We have reached the days of realignment and readjustment and realize that we must be progressive in order to be conservative.

Men of observation, constructive, progressive citizens, have long ceased to need argument to convince them of the crying necessity for better agricultural methods; for citizen making systems of education; for better roads; for all the things that will advance the mighty cause of agriculture and serve to solve or ease the problems of rural life, and promote the general welfare.

These are the problems that indirectly affect the whole nation, even more, if possible, than they directly relate to the rural population.

So, while the pressing importance of these problems had long since passed the stage of argument—and effort was crystallizing on all sides for their adoption and execution—there was much debate, ethically and otherwise—whether a Bankers' Association, or even a banker, should actively take interest in these and other matters of general welfare.

There was that ancient idea and failure to act through fear of being misunderstood.

You will hear no challenge now, when we state that there is no further argument against the practical and public value of—in fact there is crying necessity for—such a policy.

It has been the great privilege of the Illinois Bankers' Association to pioneer the work among bankers' state organizations—of undertaking and demonstrating the success of a wide campaign in the field of good citizenship and public welfare.

We have started a demonstration and will continue to demonstrate, in growing measure, as other great organizations of business men should be doing, our living interest in public affairs, and that the people, more men without party, more business men and fewer politicians, must run their government and formulate its policies.

In the natural order of things, no matter how pure their purpose, we cannot leave agricultural development chiefly to the colleges—educational methods entirely to the teachers; banking bodily to the bankers; big business problems solely to the corporations; nor even religion to the clergy; certainly not government to piratical politicians.

Good government like any other serviceable and practical institution, is a matter of good business and business methods and business men, with a vision broadened and heart warmed by the public interest must shape and direct and dominate, if we approach a true democracy.

Almost without exception every member in our ranks has felt the uplift of our present policy and helped in it.

The story of our work has spread throughout the land, till scarcely a publication in the country from the great metropolitan daily to the obscure country weekly, down through a wide range of national publications and all the farm press, has told the story of the Illinois Bankers' Association "living not to itself alone"—endorsed the movement and bidden it Godspeed.

The more points at which we touch human nature and human interests the more alive we are and the longer we will remain so.

We are giving the people a practical demonstration that the interest of banker and customer is identical and that the general interest is a part of our interest.

Without entering into more detail, much of which is fully covered in many pamphlets, it is not too much to say that much has been accomplished in this movement—for which the bankers of Illinois cannot be given too much credit.

These words may have many personal and not too modest references but it did not seem possible to say less and record for your archives a fair statement of this movement the credit for which belongs to and is a matter of great pride with the Illinois Bankers' Association.

INDIAN TREATIES AFFECTING LANDS IN THE PRESENT STATE OF ILLINOIS.

(By Frank R. Grover.)

The romance and interest that ever surrounds "Indian Days" in America seems never to wane. As the years go by the younger generation of Americans turn from the Indian tales of their ancestors—the relations of the actors themselves, in the days of the pioneer, to the countless books and writings that are ever painting vivid word pictures of the North American Indian in the days of his glory—before he became the victim of a white man's civilization. His traditions, myths and legends, his character, his eloquence, his manners and customs, the wrongs he has done and those he has suffered, have all in their turn supplied endless themes for the historian, the poet, the ethnologist and the writer of fiction. Longfellow's *Hiawatha* as well as Schoolcraft's *Tales and Legends* gathered—

"From the forest and the prairies
From the Great Lakes of the Northland
From the land of the Ojibways"

have not only permanently fastened their charm upon their first readers, but will forever interest their descendants yet unborn.

A subject that has heretofore been given frequent but only incidental attention is the Indian treaties, which have generally been considered only as the title papers, by which the white man acquired a white man's title to the Indian's land. It is my purpose to tell you regarding some of the Indian treaties affecting lands now constituting the State of Illinois.

To follow and describe all of these treaties in detail and their historical importance would not only extend this paper and discussion beyond reasonable limits but would require in effect the writing of the history of the Ohio and Mississippi valleys during those eventful years in American history that have intervened since the beginning of the American Revolution. It will therefore be my plan and purpose to consider these treaties more in their general aspect and significance than to follow all of them in the detail that would require unprofitable repetition respecting transactions and negotiations much alike in plan, purpose and results.

A very instructive summary of the plan and purpose of these Indian treaties is set forth by Mr. J. Seymour Currey in his recent *History of Chicago* (Vol. 1, page 202) in the following concise words:

"From the time of the signing of the Treaty of Greenville in 1795, there was a series of Indian treaties extending over thirty-eight years, particularly affecting the region of Illinois. Some of these treaties were merely declarations of friendship, others provided for territorial ces-

sions, while some renewed the conditions of former treaties and included as participants additional tribes. The provisions of these treaties were often not clear to the ignorant chiefs who, after the agreement was made and ratified, would raise objections and demand another council. The Government would then frame up a new treaty including the former provisions as well as added ones and again the chiefs were gathered to sign away, usually unwittingly, still more of what remained to them. The odds were all against them, with their unstable conditions of land tenure, their ignorance and barbarity on the one side, and the keen, often unscrupulous wits of the Government agents on the other side. Finally came the great Treaty of Chicago in 1833 which provided for their removal to the west. It was long before the significance of this agreement came home to them, and they realized but slowly the seriousness of the Great Father's intention to send them away from their dwellings to new lands."

It is undoubtedly true that so long as there are historians to write, there will be most divergent views expressed regarding the rights of the Red Man, and how those rights have been violated and infringed, both in the methods of negotiating treaties, their fraudulent provisions, and inadequate compensation for lands, and in the matter of subsequent performance. It is very easy to espouse the cause of the Indian as the proprietor of the soil, the child of the forest and of the plains cheated by dishonest and unscrupulous government agents with the use of whiskey and the gaudy and attractive wares and merchandise that resulted in the United States securing title to an Empire for a few cents an acre.

And, on the other hand, to remember the Indian as the vices of the white man's civilization had made him, and to then conclude, that, after all, the requirements of civilization and progress—the survival of the fittest, made it a foregone conclusion that he must pass away.

To espouse either view is not within the scope or purpose of this paper. The facts speak for themselves. Probably neither view is the correct one. That in concluding many treaties, and in the performance of them, both the Indians and the Government agents were fair is undoubtedly true. That later in concluding some of the treaties here under consideration, the land-lust of the white man and the necessities of progress and the pioneer on the one hand, and the great reluctance of the Indian tribes on the other, to be ever crowded out of their native lands and pushed farther and farther to the west, led to methods on the part of government agents that were both questionable and an indelible disgrace to both the responsible agents themselves and a government that would countenance such action by later ratification, seems only too true.

One writer says: "No government ever entertained more enlightened and benevolent intentions toward a weaker people than did that of the United States towards the Indian, but never in history, probably, has a more striking divergence between intention and performance been witnessed."

An Indian's view is also quoted by the same author in the following words, "When the United States want a particular piece of land, all our natives are assembled; a large sum of money is offered;

the land is occupied probably by one nation only; nine-tenths have no actual interest in the land wanted; if the particular nation interested refuses to sell, they are generally threatened by the others who want the money or goods offered, to buy whiskey. Fathers, that is the way in which this small spot, which we so much value, has been so often torn from us." (Quaife in Chicago and the Old North West, p. 179.)

Over and over again have the Indian orators presented similar complaints, both in councils among themselves and in conference with Government agents when treaties were under consideration. And here it will not be out of place to briefly consider what the Indians on such occasions have had to say for themselves, of their relations to the white man and their rights as original proprietors of the soil.

Historians of reputation and standing have often treated the Indian Councils with Government Commissioners when treaties were under consideration, very lightly, and with scant regard for the feelings of the Red Man who quite generally was then and there not only requested but *required* to leave his home and native land and to depart to some remote country that he knew not of. One of these writers says: "An Indian Council, on solemn occasions, was always opened with preliminary forms, sufficiently wearisome and tedious. * * * An Indian orator was provided with a stock of metaphors which he always made use of. * * * The orator seldom spoke without careful premeditation and his memory was refreshed by belts of wampum which he delivered after every clause in his harangue."

It is no doubt true that on some of these occasions the ceremonies were tedious and prolonged and that some of the Chiefs delivered harangues burdened with useless and oft repeated metaphor. But it is no less true that we are indebted to the Indian treaties for the careful preservation of Indian oratory hardly equalled or excelled by the white man with all his books, his culture, and his learning. We are told by good authority that many of these great speeches, however carefully translated, necessarily lose the charm of the Indian tongue that by intuition deals with nature in all its poetic beauty.

That it is not useless flattery to so designate the words of the Indian orator on such occasions, is plain and apparent when it is considered what he had at stake, that nature in the first instance made him an orator, which oft accounted for his being the spokesman of his clan or tribe, that perhaps for months he and his tribesmen had given close heed and thought to the coming council and the importance of its decision: and at last, when called upon to speak and when he arose in the presence of the great men of the Indian Nations, the assembled Indian multitude and the attentive Government agents, the orator—if orator he really was—met the climax of his career as the representative of his people and poured out his heart and soul with his best and final words as an earnest advocate of their righteous cause.

Indian metaphor so frequently used on such occasions had not only the poetic tinge but added force as well as ornament to the speech, whether it be designated as oration or harangue. Its merit may be best judged by the fact that the sayings of these "Indian children" in addressing the council have not only been carefully preserved as part of our literature, but borrowed repeatedly and used over and over again,

by the white orators of our own day, until they have permanently become figures of speech of our language. (See illustrations of such metaphorical sayings and expressions, Haines American Indian, Chap. XL, III.)

Caleb Atwater in writing a history of the Treaty of Prairie du Chien, that will receive later mention, thus speaks of the Indian orator at treaty making councils: "Before him sit the United States Commissioners, attended by a great number of military officers in full dress, the Indian agents, interpreters, and an army of soldiers under arms; the cannons with lighted matches, and indeed all the proud array of military life so fascinating to men in all ages of the world, are presented to his view."

"On each side of him sit all the chiefs and warriors of his nation, while behind him sit, in the full hearing of his voice, all the women and children of his people. His subject is one then of the highest conceivable importance to himself and his whole nation. In breathless silence do they listen to every word he utters and with watchful eye mark every gesture he makes."

"Placed in such a situation the character of his eloquence is easily conceived. It abounds with figures drawn from every object which nature presents to his eye. He thanks the Great Spirit that He has granted them a day for holding their council with or without clouds as the case may be. * * * He recalls to the minds of his audience the situation and circumstances of his ancestors when they inhabited the whole continent; when they and they only climbed every hill and mountain, cultivated in peace the most fertile spots of earth, angled in every stream, and hunted over every plain in quest of game, skimming the surface of every lake and stream in their birch bark canoes, with lodges in coolest shades in summer beside pure fountains and where abundance of food was always at hand and easily obtained, and that all the labor they had to perform was only what the white man calls sport and pastime; that in winter they dwelt in the thickest forests where they were protected from every piercing wind. * * * The white man came across the great water. * * * Indian pity was excited by the simple tale of the white man's wants and his request was granted. * * * Step by step he drove the Red Man before him from river to river, from mountain to mountain, until the Red Man seated himself on a small territory as a final resting place, and now the white man wants even that small spot." * * * "Thus is his whole soul in every word, in every look, in every gesture, as he presents the rights of his people and the wrongs they have endured."

We are not only indebted to the negotiations and councils incident to the Indian Treaties for the preservation of the best efforts of the Indian orators, but the writers who were present and have described what occurred on such occasions have given us an interesting account and view of Indian pomp and ceremony at its best and most interesting stage; and also reliable information respecting the condition of the various tribes at the time the Treaties were concluded, and again interesting accounts and descriptions of individual chiefs whose names will not only ever live in American history, but which are stamped indelibly upon the maps of all our states.

The accounts of one or two eye witnesses of the transactions incident to the later Treaties held at Chicago and Prairie du Chien, that will here receive consideration, are of interest and importance in all of these particulars. It is to be regretted that much of the romance that so generally attaches to the history of the primeval Red Man, is greatly dimmed and marred, when he is seen as he actually appeared on these later occasions at the Treaty making councils of Chicago and Prairie du Chien, a victim of the white man's whiskey, and a sorry representative of his former greatness.

While each and all of the very many Treaties with the Indians directly and indirectly affecting lands now constituting the State of Illinois are of interest, extended consideration need only be given a very few of them, not exceeding seven in number. These seven treaties were not only the most important ones in the development and settlement of the State, and in shaping events that make the history of Illinois, but they present three distinct types of the Treaties in respect to the end sought by the Government agents. First, to end Indian wars against the settlers, and to secure peace with the Indians; second, to secure peace between hostile and warring tribes, and to establish boundaries between them; and third, to secure cessions of land for the use of the settlers. The seven Treaties that will be so considered were concluded respectively in the years 1795, 1804, 1816, 1821, 1825, 1829 and 1833.

THE TREATY OF GREENVILLE.

There is probably no Indian treaty, with the exception of the memorable and historic treaty negotiated by William Penn, that is more frequently referred to by historians than the Treaty of Greenville concluded August 3, 1795. While this treaty ceded very little land within the present boundaries of Illinois, it was of far reaching importance in the history and development of the Ohio and Mississippi Valleys and in shaping the destiny of the coming empire.

To write a complete history of this treaty in all the essential details that accuracy would require, would be to reproduce the history of the nation during the days of the Revolution and the years of trial, concern and uncertainty that succeeded the Treaty of Peace with Great Britain of September 3, 1783.

Great Britain retained possession of the principal Lake posts contrary to the express provisions of the Treaty of Paris. It seems also to have been the plan of the Mother Country to keep possession of the territory north of the Ohio and west of the Alleghanies as long as possible, indulging the hope, if not the belief, that the experiment of the American Confederacy might prove such a failure that possession would never be required or enforced.

The surrender of possession carried with it also relinquishing the benefit there derived from the fur trade, to say nothing of the vast territory held and controlled by these forts and trading posts.

If the action of Great Britain had been confined alone to holding these forts and the territory thereby controlled, and to the flimsy excuses for so doing, the ground for complaint would not have been so great. But year after year, through British and Canadian agents, the Indians

were, by continued intrigues and encouragement, led to war upon the settlers of the Ohio Valley and against the military forces of the United States.

It is not within the scope of this paper to deal in detail with all those bloody times and years that have been so graphically described by some of the participants and their later historians. The Indian Confederacy led by Little Turtle, the great Chief of the Miamis; the hewing of military roads through the forests to reach and burn the Indian villages; the building of all the Forts in the wilderness; the bravery of General Arthur Saint Clair, Governor of the North West Territory, who could not stay the utter rout of his army that fled before the mighty onslaught of the red men, are all matters of history. But at last under the direction of the Great Washington came "the man of the hour"—"Mad Anthony Wayne," a General whom Washington had watched through many battles of the Revolution; the man that lead his soldiers in a bayonet charge to victory over the walls of the British Fort at Stony Point, and who, with all his rashness, had as cool a head as his heart was stout—the new Governor of the North West Territory. Then came the bloody Indian "Battle of the Fallen Timbers" under his leadership and at last after forty years of Indian warfare, the Great Indian Treaty of Greenville that one historian at least has designated "The Peace of Mad Anthony."

This treaty does not derive its importance from either the value or extent of the land ceded to the United States by the Indians. The first words of the preamble, unlike similar recitals in many other treaties, were significant not only in statement but in later observance, viz: "To put an end to a destructive war, to settle all controversies and to restore harmony and a friendly intercourse between the United States and the Indian Tribes."

The pledge of peace and security thus given by the powerful tribes who were parties to this treaty, the Wyandots (Hurons), Delawares, Shawanoes, Ottawas, Chippewas (Ojibways), Pottowattomies, Miamis, Eel River Weeas, Kickapoos, Piankashaws and Kaskaskians, meant much for the cause of settlement and progress in the Ohio Valley, as the Indian Boundary fixed by this treaty gave about 25,000 square miles of land constituting most of the present State of Ohio, and a small part of Indiana, to the white men. Almost immediately over the Allegheny Mountains and down the Ohio River and into all the fertile valleys of this domain, swarmed the hardy pioneers, that formed the ever rising and resistless tide that during the succeeding years swept westward through the forests and across the broad prairies, ever driving the Indians before it in the many successive stages of their westward journey.

William Henry Harrison, then a young man, was aide de camp to General Wayne, and his signature as such officer, with others, was appended to the treaty.

There are many interesting stipulations in this treaty that will be briefly quoted and referred to. * * * "Henceforth all hostilities shall cease, peace is hereby established and shall be perpetual." * * * "All prisoners shall on both sides be restored." * * * "Ten chiefs

of said tribes shall remain at Greenville as hostages until the delivery of the prisoners shall be effected." * * *

Some sixteen tracts of land comprising all the principal trading posts and portages in the territory now comprising the states of Ohio, Indiana, Michigan and Illinois were ceded to the Government, including Mackinac Island and "one piece of land six miles square at the mouth of Chikago River emptying into the South West end of Lake Michigan where a fort formerly stood." While these cessions were not large in area, still including as they did all the western forts and trading posts of importance, with small parcels of land adjoining, with the further provisions of the treaty, that "the said Indian Tribes will allow * * * a free passage by land and water as one and the other shall be found convenient through their country along the chain of posts hereinbefore mentioned * * * and the free use of the harbours and rivers along the lakes" practically gave the Government control of the country for trade which the treaty further provided for, and opened the way for speedy settlement.

Of the details of the Council and the extended negotiations respecting this Treaty which proceeded daily from July 15 until August 3, 1795, little will here be said. After the calumet had been passed from chief to chief, General Wayne opened the Council with a speech. Then followed day after day the negotiations, other speeches and the usual Indian oratory, including the great speech of Little Turtle showing that he was in fact a great leader and orator and a foeman worthy of the steel of even so great a man as Mad Anthony Wayne.

Thus ended not only this Indian war, but from one view point the American Revolution itself. It has been said that no Indian Chief or warrior who gave General Wayne the hand at Greenville ever after lifted the hatchet against the United States. Whether that be true or otherwise, this treaty marks one of the great epochs in American History and was remembered and referred to by many an Indian orator at later similar councils, when other Treaties were under consideration and during the next succeeding fifty years.

(Regarding Treaty of Greenville see Wilson's Peace of Mad Anthony; Roosevelt's Winning of the West, Vol. 5, Chap. 5; Western Annals; Blanchard's North West; Indian Treaties (1873 Ed., p. 184).

TREATY OF 1804 WITH THE SACS AND FOXES.

After the Treaty of Greenville the settlers not only came rapidly and in great numbers, but the ending of the Indian occupation moved rapidly forward hence during the first third of the nineteenth century Indian treaties of importance were concluded with unusual frequency.

In 1801 General William Henry Harrison was appointed Governor of the then new Indiana Territory. It immediately became his policy to secure as speedily as possible and whenever the occasion presented itself cessions of land by the Indians to the United States. In 1804 he was at Saint Louis seeking satisfaction of the Sac Indians for the murder of three settlers and taking advantage of the situation, secured execution of a treaty by five of the chiefs of the Sacs, and Foxes ceding to the Government over fifty million acres of land in Missouri, Illinois and Wisconsin, including the land between the Illinois and Mississippi

Rivers, for \$2,234.50 in goods, and a promised annuity of \$1,000.00. Black Hawk and his associates repudiated this treaty, claiming it was executed by the chiefs who signed it without authority or knowledge of their people. The subsequent disputes growing out of this treaty furnished the principal cause for the Black Hawk War.

The general policy of Governor Harrison and the United States just noted, to progress treaty negotiations with the Indians, and the history of what was done in pursuance of that policy would not be complete without at least passing reference to the Great Shawanee Chief Tecumseh, who with his brother The Prophet (Ellskwatawa) undertook the gigantic and impossible task of forming an Indian Confederacy to stay the tide of the advancing pioneers, and to prohibit further cession and conveyance of lands by the Indians, except by the unanimous consent of all the tribes, contending that the land belonged to all the Indian tribes in common, but for the use of each. This policy he boldly and forcibly presented to Governor Harrison in person at Vincennes in August, 1810.

Tecumseh's speeches on these and other occasions announcing his policy, and presenting the rights of his people not only show his great strength of character and purpose, but are quoted quite frequently as examples of the best Indian Oratory. His efforts to arouse all the tribes of the North West by personal visits and appeals; the battle of Tippecanoe; his later appearance in the War of 1812 as a Brigadier General in the British army hoping thereby to further his plans and cause and his final fighting to the death, at the head of the British and his Indian warriors in the lost battle of the Thames, are all of interest in our history, but not directly connected with the subject here considered.

The various Indian Treaties bearing directly or indirectly upon the Black Hawk War, in all their aspects and from widely divergent view points, have been fully and ably considered by Armstrong,* Stevens,† and many other writers of Illinois history. Extended comment, or further consideration, that would again extend this paper beyond reasonable limits, will therefore be omitted.

TREATY OF AUGUST 24, 1816, AT SAINT LOUIS.

On that date, Ninian Edwards, William Clark and Auguste Chouteau negotiated a Treaty at Saint Louis with the Ottawas, Chippewas, and Pottawatomies, by which they ceded a strip of land twenty miles wide on the Eastern boundary at Lake Michigan (being ten miles north and ten miles south of the Chicago River in width) and extending generally South West so as to include the Chicago Portage and a strip of land extending to the mouth of the Fox River. This strip of land was secured for the purpose of facilitating the building of the proposed canal. The boundaries of this cession appear upon many maps and records as "Indian Boundary Line" causing confusion and irregularity in land descriptions as Government surveys were made at different times on each side of these diagonal boundary lines, hence, the section lines did not meet each other causing triangular fractional sections and confusion as to proper Range and Township.

The Northern boundary of this cession is, in Cook County, the center line of a highway known for over half a century as "Indian

* The Sauks and the Black Hawk War, by Perry A. Armstrong.

† Frank E. Stevens, Black Hawk War.

Boundary Road" extending to Lake Michigan, at the former boundary line between the City of Evanston and Chicago. Later the Chicago City Council changed the name of this highway to "Rogers Avenue." Repeated efforts of both the Chicago and Evanston Historical Societies to induce the Chicago City Council "to change back to its original form the name of this highway, thus restoring to it, its former proper and historic name of 'Indian Boundary Road'" have, it is to be greatly regretted, proved unavailing (see resolution at joint meeting of these two Societies held November 27, 1906).

This treaty like many others, contained a reservation to the Indians of the right to hunt and fish within the tract of land ceded "so long as it may continue to be the property of the United States."

TREATY OF AUGUST 29, 1821, AT CHICAGO.

While this treaty negotiated by Governor Lewis Cass of Michigan and Solomon Sibley, did not cede any Illinois lands, it was a part of the general plan and scheme of the Government to extinguish the Indian Title and in this instance particularly to secure the Indian lands in Michigan South of Grand River and East of the Lake. On this occasion the Pottawattomie Chief Metea, made his eloquent and historic speech so often quoted by Indian historians.

Mr. Schoolcraft in his book *Travels in the Central Part of the Mississippi Valley* (p. 335, 337) gives an extended account of what he saw and heard on this occasion, both as he approached Chicago by the Portage and after his arrival, he says:

"On crossing the Des Plaines we found the opposite shore thronged with Indians" * * * "From this point we were scarcely ever out of sight of straggling parties, all proceeding to the same place. Most commonly they were mounted on horses and apparelled in their best manner and decorated with medals, silver bands and feathers. The gaudy and showy dresses of these troops of Indians with jingling caused by the striking of their ornaments, and their spirited manner of riding created a scene as novel as it was interesting. Proceeding from all parts of a very extensive circle of country, like rays converging to a focus, the nearer we approached the more compact and concentrated the the body became" * * * "the dust, confusion and noise increased at every bypath that intersected our way" * * * "we found on reaching the post that between two and three thousand Indians were assembled—chiefly Pottawattomies, Ottawas and Chippewas. Many arrived on the following days" * * *.

"To accommodate the large assemblage * * * an open bower provided with seats for the principals, chiefs and headmen had been put up on the green, extending along the north bank of Chicago Creek" * * * "directly under the guns of the fort, ensured both safety and order for the occasion." The formalities which custom has prescribed in negotiations of this kind occupied the first two or three days after our arrival, during which time the number of Indians was constantly augmented. It was not until the 17th that they were formally met in council when Governor Cass addressed them."

Schoolcraft then gives the Governor's speech in full substantially to the effect that "Your Father" has observed that the Indians possess an

extensive country with little game, and which they do not cultivate nor appear to want, and that the commissioners have come to purchase it at a liberal price to be agreed upon and that the goods had been brought to Chicago ready for the purchase; that the Indians should counsel among themselves, refrain from whiskey, and make answer "by the day after to-morrow."

"Each sentence being distinctly translated was received with the usual response of 'Hoah!' a term that on these public occasions is merely indicative of attention. A short pause ensued during which some customary presents were issued, when Metea, the Pottowattomie Chief from the Wabash, made the following laconic reply:

"My father—We have listened to what you have said. We shall now retire to our camps and consult upon it. You will hear nothing from us at present."

Mr. Schoolcraft gives an extended, detailed and interesting account of much that subsequently occurred including many of the speeches both by the Indians and by Governor Cass, also one by John Kinzie which Mr. Schoolcraft says was received by the Indians "with conclusive effect."

This last statement considered in connection with the special "reservations" given to particular individuals, and a letter of January 1, 1821, written by Wolcott the Chicago Indian agent to Governor Cass suggesting that "before the period of treating arrives" * * * "It will be necessary to bribe their chief men by very considerable presents and promises" * * * with which Cass expressed approval (see Indian Department, Cass correspondence, Wolcott to Cass, January 1, 1821, also Quaife p. 346) would tend to indicate quite conclusively that Mr. Schoolcraft has omitted much of the *inside* history of this treaty.

His observations respecting the purchase on this occasion of over five million acres of land for the paltry consideration stipulated in the treaty, and his resenting criticism of it, (see pp. 369-373) would further indicate that such omissions were more than probable.

Whether Mr. Schoolcraft was, or was not, a party to the intrigues that seem to have carried the treaty through, he has rendered a great service as an historian in describing much that occurred, of which he was an eye witness.

To him we are indebted for an accurate description of the personal appearance of Metea the leading orator of his nation, who, as Schoolcraft says, stood tall, erect and firm, wearing gracefully a red military plume, and with a ready command of language, a pleasant voice and forceful gestures, bold, fearless and original in expression, and thus answered Governor Cass, in the speech which Schoolcraft wrote down at the time word for word, as given by the interpreters:

"My Father—We meet you here today, because we had promised it, to tell you our minds, and what we have agreed upon among ourselves. You will listen to us with a good mind and believe what we say.

"My Father—You know that we first came to this country, a long time ago, and when we sat ourselves down upon it, we met with a great many handships and difficulties. Our country was then very large, but it has dwindled away to a small spot; and you wish to purchase that! This has caused us to reflect much upon what you have told us, and we have, therefore, brought along all the chiefs and warriors, and the

young men and women and children of our tribe, that one part may not do what the others object to, and that all may be witnesses of what is going forward.

"My Father—You know your children. Since you first came among them, they have listened to your words with an attentive ear; and have always hearkened to your counsels. Whenever you have had a proposal to make to us—whenever you have had a favour to ask of us, we have always lent a favourable ear, and our invariable answer has been 'Yes.' This you know!

"My Father—A long time has passed since we first came upon our lands; and our old people have all sunk into their graves. They had sense. We are all young and foolish, and do not wish to do any thing that they would not approve, were they living. We are fearful we shall offend their spirits if we sell our lands; and we are fearful we shall offend you, if we do *not* sell them. This has caused us great perplexity of thought, because we have counselled among ourselves, and do not know how we can part with the land.

"My Father—Our country was given to us by the Great Spirit, who gave it to us to hunt upon, to make our corn-fields upon, to live upon, and to make down our beds upon, when we die. And he would never forgive us, should we now bargain it away. When you first spoke to us for lands at St. Mary's, we said we had a little, and agreed to sell you a piece of it; but we told you we could spare no more. Now, you ask us again. You are never satisfied!

"My Father—We have sold you a great tract of land, already; but it is not enough! We sold it to you for the benefit of your children, to farm and to live upon. We have now but little left. We shall want it all for ourselves. We know not how long we may live, and we wish to leave some lands for our children to hunt upon. You are gradually taking away our hunting grounds. Your children are driving us before them. We are growing uneasy. What lands you have, you may retain for ever; but we shall sell no more.

"My Father—You think, perhaps, that I speak in passion; but my heart is good towards you. I speak like one of your own children. I am an Indian, a red-skin, and live by hunting and fishing, but my country is already too small; and I do not know how to bring up my children, if I give it all away. We sold you a fine tract of land at St. Mary's. We said to you then, it was enough to satisfy your children, and the last we should sell; and we thought it would be the last you would ask for.

"My Father—We have now told you what we had to say. It is what was determined on, in a council among ourselves; and what I have spoken is the voice of my nation. On this account, all our people have come here to listen to me; but do not think we have a bad opinion of you. Where should we get a bad opinion of you? We speak to you with a good heart, and the feelings of a friend.

"My Father—You are acquainted with this piece of land—the country we live in. Shall we give it up? Take notice, it is a small piece of land, and if we give it away, what will become of us? The Great Spirit, who has provided it for our use, allows us to keep it, to bring up our young men and support our families. We should incur his anger, if we bartered it away. If we had more land, you should get more, but

our land has been wasting away ever since the white people became our neighbours, and we have now hardly enough left to cover the bones of our tribe.

"My Father—You are in the midst of your red children. What is due to us, in money, we wish, and will receive at this place; and we want nothing more.

"My Father—We all shake hands with you. Behold our warriors, our women, and children. Take pity on us, and on our words."

The dignity and friendship of this speech and the firm determination not to part with the land, is not only apparent, but indicates that pressure, and methods to some extent undisclosed, must have been later applied in the extended negotiations which followed day after day and that ultimately moved the Indians to do what Metea and the other chiefs in the first instance firmly declined, and for which final action they were later both criticised and persecuted by their own people.

TREATY OF PRAIRIE DU CHIEN CONCLUDED AUGUST 19, 1825, WITH THE SIOUX, CHIPPEWAS, SACS AND FOXES, MENOMINIES, IOWAS, WINNEBAGOES, OTTAWAS, AND POTTAWATTAMIES.

The purpose of this treaty was not the usual one to secure cessions of land from the Indians but is thus stated in the preamble to the Treaty: "The United States of America have seen with much regret that wars have for many years been carried on between the Sioux and the Chippewas, and more recently between the Sacs and Foxes and the Sioux; which if not terminated may extend to the other tribes and involve the Indians upon the Missouri, the Mississippi and the Lakes in general hostilities. In order therefore to promote peace among these tribes, and to establish boundaries among them, and the other tribes who live in their vicinity and thereby to remove all causes of future difficulty have invited * * * the tribes * * * to assemble together and in a spirit of mutual conciliation to accomplish these objects; and to aid therein, have appointed William Clark and Lewis Cass, commissioners." The fifteen articles of the treaty deal exclusively with the subject matter of the preamble in fixing boundaries and respective rights of hunting, providing for future and enduring peace between the tribes and acknowledging "the general controlling power of the United States" to take such measures as "they may deem proper," in case "difficulty hereafter should unhappily arise."

Mr. Schoolcraft who was Indian Agent at that time at the Sault, came all the way to Prairie du Chien in a canoe to assist in the negotiations. He wrote an account of this treaty that is interesting in many particulars, especially so as the Indians of the many tribes and clans, then at Prairie du Chien came from far and near, from the great forests of the North, and from the far away western plains, hence representing interesting types living remote from white men and resembling more the primeval Red Man of former days, than his later descendants, so much in evidence at that period in the Council house at the invitation of Treaty framing Commissioners. Mr. Schoolcraft, (Thirty years with the Indian tribes, Chap. XXIII) thus describes his journey; the Indians he saw and what occurred at Prairie du Chien.

"We finally left Mackinack for our destination on the Mississippi, on the 1st of July. The convocation to which we were now proceeding was for the purpose of settling internal disputes between the tribes, by fixing the boundaries to their respective territories, and thus laying the foundation of a lasting peace on the frontiers. And it marks an era in the policy of our negotiations with the Indians which is memorable. No such gathering of the tribes had ever before occurred, and its results have taken away the necessity of any in future, so far as relates to the lines on the Mississippi.

"We encountered head winds, and met with some delay in passing through the straits into Lake Michigan, and after escaping an imminent hazard of being blown off into the open lake, in a fog, reached Green Bay on the 4th. The journey up the Fox River, and its numerous portages, was resumed on the 14th, and after having ascended the river to its head, we crossed over the Fox and Wisconsin portage, and descending the latter with safety, reached Prairie du Chien on the 21st, making the whole journey from Mackinack in twenty-one days.

"We found a very large number of the various tribes, assembled. Not only the village, but the entire banks of the river for miles above and below the town, and the island in the river, was covered with their tents. The Dakotahs, with their high pointed buffalo skin tents, above the town, and their decorations and implements of flags, feathers, skins and personal "braveries," presented the scene of a Bedouin encampment. Some of the chiefs had the skins of skunks tied to their heels, to symbolize that they never ran, as that animal is noted for its slow and self-possessed movements.

"Wanita, the Yankton chief, had a most magnificent robe of the buffalo, curiously worked with dyed porcupine's quills and sweet grass. A kind of war flag, made of eagles' and vultures' large feathers, presented quite a martial air. War clubs and lances presented almost every imaginable device of paint; but by far the most elaborate thing was their pipes of red stone, curiously carved, and having flat wooden handles of some four feet in length, ornamented with the scalps of the red-headed woodpecker and male duck, and tail feathers of birds artificially attached by strings and quill work, so as to hang in the figure of a quadrant. But the most elaborately wrought part of the devices consisted of dyed porcupines' quills, arranged as a kind of aboriginal mosaic.

"The Winnebagoes, who speak a cognate dialect of the Dacotah, were encamped near; and resembled them in their style of lodges, arts, and general decorations.

"The Chippewas presented the more usually known traits, manners and customs of the great Algonquin family—of whom they are, indeed, the best representative. The tall and warlike bands from the sources of the Mississippi—from La Point, in Lake Superior—from the valleys of the Chippewa and St. Croix Rivers, and the Rice Lake region of Lac du Flambeau, and of Sault Ste. Marie, were well represented.

"The cognate tribe of the Menomonies, and of the Potawattomies and Ottawas from Lake Michigan, assimilated and mingled with the Chippewas. Some of the Iroquois of Green Bay were present.

"But no tribes attracted as intense a degree of interest as the Iowas, and the Sacs and Foxes—tribes of radically diverse languages, yet united

in a league against the Sioux. These tribes were encamped on the island, or opposite coast. They came to the treaty ground, armed and dressed as a war party. They were all armed with spears, clubs, guns and knives. Many of the warriors had a long tuft of red horsehair tied at their elbows, and wore a necklace of grizzly bears' claws. Their headdress consisted of red dyed horsehair, tied in such manner to the scalp lock as to present the shape of the decoration of a Roman helmet. The rest of the head was completely shaved and painted. A long iron shod lance was carried in the hand. A species of baldric supported part of their arms. The azian, moccasin and leggins constituted a part of their dress. They were, indeed, nearly nude, and painted. Often the print of a hand, in white clay, marked the back or shoulders. They bore flags of feathers. They beat drums. They uttered yells, at definite points. They landed in compact ranks. They looked the very spirit of defiance. Their leader stood as a prince, majestic and frowning. The wild, native pride of man, in the savage state, flushed by success in war, and confident in the strength of his arm, was never so fully depicted to my eyes. And the forest tribes of the continent may be challenged to have ever presented a spectacle of bold daring, and martial prowess, equal to their landing.

"Their martial bearing, their high tone, and whole behavior during their stay, in and out of council, was impressive, and demonstrated, in an eminent degree, to what a high pitch of physical and moral courage, bravery and success in war may lead a savage people. Keokuk, who led them, stood with his war lance, high crest of feathers, and daring eye, like another Coriolanus, and when he spoke in council, and at the same time shook his lance at his enemies, the Sioux, it was evident that he wanted but an opportunity to make their blood flow like water. Wapelo, and other chiefs backed him, and the whole array, with their shaved heads and high crests of red horsehair, told the spectator plainly, that each of these men held his life in his hand, and was ready to spring to the work of slaughter at the cry of their chief.

"General William Clark, from St. Louis, was associated with General Cass in this negotiation. The great object was to lay the foundation of a permanent peace by establishing boundaries. Day after day was assigned to this, the agents laboring with the chiefs, and making themselves familiar with Indian bark maps and drawings. The thing pleased the Indians. They clearly saw that it was a benevolent effort for their good, and showed a hearty mind to work in the attainment of the object. The United States asked for no cession. Many glowing harangues were made by the chiefs, which gave scope to their peculiar oratory, which is well worth the preserving. Mongazid, of Fond du Lac, Lake Superior, said: 'When I heard the voice of my Great Father, coming up the Mississippi Valley calling me to this treaty, it seemed as a murmuring wind; I got up from my mat where I sat musing, and hastened to obey it. My pathway has been clear and bright. Truly it is a pleasant sky above our heads this day. There is not a cloud to darken it. I hear nothing but pleasant words. The raven is not waiting for his prey, I hear no eagle cry: "Come, let us go. The feast is ready—the Indian has killed his brother."' "

"When nearly a whole month had been consumed in these negotiations, a treaty of limits was signed, which will long be remembered in the Indian reminiscences. This was on the 19th of August, 1825, (*vide* Indian Treaties, p. 371.) It was a pleasing sight to see the explorer of the Columbia in 1806, and the writer of the proclamation of the army that invaded Canada in 1812, uniting in a task boding so much good to the tribes whose passions and trespasses on each other's lands keep them perpetually at war.

"At the close of the treaty, an experiment was made on the moral sense of the Indian, with regard to intoxicating liquors, which was evidently of too refined a character for their just appreciation. It had been said by the tribes that the true reason for the Commissioners of the United States Government speaking against the use of ardent spirits by the Indians, and refusing to give them, was not a sense of its bad effects, so much, as the fear of the expense. To show them that the Government was above such a petty principle, the commissioners had a long row of tin camp kettles, holding several gallons each, placed on the grass, from one end of the council house to the other, and then, after some suitable remarks, each kettle was spilled out in their presence. The thing was evidently ill relished by the Indians. They loved the whiskey better than the joke."

TREATY OF PRAIRIE DU CHIEN OF JULY 29, 1829, WITH THE POTTAWATTAMIES, CHIPPEWAS AND OTTAWAS.

By this treaty these three tribes ceded a large territory in Illinois and Wisconsin, lying between Rock River and the Mississippi and a further large tract of land between Rock River and Lake Michigan to the west and north of the cession of 1816. On Lake Michigan it included in width the land now constituting the city of Evanston, and most of the adjoining village of Wilmette.

The description of the northern boundary of this latter tract is: "Beginning on the Western shore of Lake Michigan at the North East corner of the field of Antoine Ouilmette who lives at Gross Pointe about twelve miles North of Chicago thence running due west to the Rock River."

Antoine Ouilmette, a Frenchman thus referred to, is much in evidence not only in the early history of Chicago, Evanston and Wilmette, but in the negotiations respecting this treaty as well as the later Chicago Treaty of 1833. He came to Chicago in 1790, married a Pottawattamie wife (Archange); located at Gross Pointe (now Evanston and Wilmette) prior to 1828, was an employee of the American Fur Company and of John Kinzie. The name of Wilmette Village originates from the phonetic spelling of his French name O-u-i-l-m-e-t-t-e. He was a man of wide acquaintance both among the whites and the Indians in this region for half a century. Elijah M. Haines (*The American Indian*, p. 550-560) claims that through the connivance of Dr. Wolcott, Chicago Indian Agent, and Ouilmette two chiefs, Alexander Robinson and Billy Caldwell, were elected to that office in the Pottawattamie tribe at Prairie du Chien for the express purpose of signing this treaty. Haines bases his statement upon a personal interview he had with Robinson to that effect from which the following is quoted:

"Mr. Robinson, when and how did you become a chief?"

"Me made chief at the treaty of Prairie du Chien."

"How did you happen to be made chief?"

"Old Wilmette, he come to me one day and he say, Dr. Wolcott want me and Billy Caldwell to be chief. He ask me if I will. Me say yes, if Dr. Wolcott want me to be."

"After the Indians had met together at Prairie du Chien for the Treaty, what was the first thing done?"

"The first thing they do they make me and Billy Caldwell chiefs; then we be chiefs * * * then we all go and make the treaty."

Consistent with the custom that seems at that period to have been gaining in popularity, in order to "*put through*" an Indian treaty, over fifteen thousand acres of land were parceled out to sixteen favored individuals, some of them Frenchman, some of them Indian wives of white men and many of them actual signers of the treaty as Indian chiefs and head men. Among such "special reservations" were two sections of land to Archange Ouilmette and her children, later known as The Ouilmette Reservation and constituting most of the present village of Wilmette and a part of Evanston. Mr. Haines claims that this was a bribe for Ouilmette's influence in securing the execution of the Treaty, with which, however, there is good ground for disagreement, considering Ouilmette's prior friendship for the whites in the war of 1812 and the later Black Hawk War and considering also his prior occupancy of the land. Chiefs Robinson and Caldwell were handsomely taken care of, both in this treaty and subsequent ones, in the way of annuities, cash and lands, as were also their friends. And "Shab-eh-nay" (Shabbona) received a well deserved reservation for his own use.

(For detailed History of Ouilmette and his family see Evanston Hist. So., Colls. and Grover's Ouilmette).

Mr. Haines account of this treaty is of interest in many particulars,—while he says that the Indians were imposed upon by the conspiracy of Dr. Wolcott to put it through as a part of the Government policy to extinguish the Indian title. He gives Wolcott not only credit for his fidelity to Government interests, but says that he was the "master spirit" in planning and executing the general Indian policy of the time so frequently credited to Governor Cass. While some of Mr. Haines' statements are subject to question, his observations on this subject and regarding this treaty are entitled to consideration.

Concurrent with the negotiation of this treaty at Prairie du Chien, several other treaties were also there concluded with other tribes. One of the Government Commissioners was Caleb Atwater, a politician from Ohio who later in a book of travels (*Western Antiquities and Remarks on a Tour to Prairie du Chien in 1829*) gives a very entertaining and instructive account of the proceedings and of what was said and done to impress the Indians and to secure their signatures to the treaty. When one considers all the settings that made the occasion as Atwater says, a "spectacle grand and morally sublime in the highest degree to the nations of Red Men who were present;" that for the comparatively insignificant compensation stipulated in the treaties the Indians parted with their title to eight million acres of land, and that after the concluding of the Treaties forty-two of the chiefs and head men, sat for two hours on raised benches, admiring the gaudy wares and merchandise

for which they had sold their birthright, wearing in the month of August, fur hats "with three beautiful ostrich plumes in each hat," gowned in ruffled calico shirts and adorned with cheap jewelry and the Government medals, given them by the commissioners, as supposed tokens of merit and of esteem—when the picture thus painted by Mr. Atwater is considered from any view point—there must be but one conclusion—that the Indian after all was not only in this aspect a mere child, but that the spectator could truly say with Pope:

"Behold the child, by Nature's kindly law,
Pleased with a rattle, tickled with a straw."

While Mr. Atwater's account and description of these transactions will interest the reader, there will ever be scant sympathy with his apparent pride in the bargain he assisted in driving. And there will also ever be sympathy for the poor Indian, who, with tears of joy in his eyes, and with thankful kindness toward the man that helped drive such a bargain, shook his hand, and departed from the fort at Prairie du Chien, at the sound of the signal gun, fired for the express purpose of accelerating his departure. Mr. Atwater says:

"The officers at the fort erected a council shade near the fort and in about three days we were ready to hold a public council. * * *

"When everything was in readiness for the opening of the council, the Indians of all the tribes and nations, on the treaty ground, attended and requested to have translated to them severally, what we said to each tribe; which being assented to on our part, the Winnebagoes, the Chippewas, Ottawas, Pottawattamies, Sioux, Sauks, Foxes and Menominees, half-breeds, the officers of the fort, the Indian Agents, sub-agents, interpreters, and a great concourse of strangers from every city of the Union, and even from Liverpool, London, and Paris were in attendance.

"The commissioners sat on a raised bench; on each side of them stood the officers of the Army in full dress, while the soldiers, in their best attire, appeared in bright array, on the sides of the council shade. The ladies belonging to the officers' families and the best families in the Prairie, were seated directly behind the commissioners, where they could see all that passed, and hear all that was said. Behind the principal Indian Chiefs sat the common people—first the men, then the women and children, to the number of thousands, who listened in breathless and deathlike silence to every word that was uttered. The spectacle was grand and morally sublime in the highest degree, to the nations of red men who were present; and when our proposition to sell all their country to their Great Father had been delivered to them, they requested an exact copy of it in writing. The request was instantly complied with, and the council broke up. Next day we addressed the Winnebagoes, as we had the Chippewas, etc., the day before, and at their request gave them a copy of our speech.

"After counseling among themselves, the Chippewas, etc., answered favorably as to a sale, though they would do nothing yet until they had fixed on their terms.

"The Winnebagoes appeared in council and delivered many speeches to us. They demanded the twenty thousand dollars worth of goods. 'Wipe out your debt' was their reply, 'before you run in debt again to us.'

"Our goods, owing to the low stage of water, had not arrived yet, and the Indians feared we did not intend to fulfil Governor Cass' agreement of the year before. When our goods did arrive and they saw them, they then changed their tone a little; but in the meantime, great uneasiness existed. * * * We were told by the Winnebagoes that they 'would use a little switch upon us.' In plain English, they would assassinate the whole of us out of the Fort. Two hundred warriors under Keokuk and Morgan of Sauks and Foxes arrived and began their war dance for the United States and they brought word that thirty steamboats with cannon and United States troops, and four hundred warriors of their own were near at hand. The Winnebagoes were silenced by this intelligence, and by demonstrations not misunderstood by them.

"It was a season of great joy with me, who placed more reliance on Keokuk and his friendly warriors, than all our other forces. Good as our officers were, our soldiers of the Army were too dissipated and worthless to be relied on one moment.

"Taking Keokuk aside, and alone, I told him in plain English all I wanted of him, and what I would do for him, and what I expected from him and his good offices. He replied in good English 'I understand you, sir, perfectly, and it shall all be done.' It was all done faithfully, and he turned the tide in our favor.

"On the 29th day of July, 1829, we concluded our treaties with the Chippewas, Ottawas, and Pottawattamies.

"On the first of August a treaty was concluded with the Winnebagoes.

"So the treaties were executed at last, and about eight million acres of land added to our domain, purchased from the Indians. Taking the three tracts ceded, and forming one whole, it extends from the upper end of Rock Island to the mouth of the Wisconsin. * * * South of the Wisconsin the Indians now own only reservations where they live, which, as soon as the white people settle on all the ceded lands will be sold to us, and the Indians will retire above the Wisconsin and across the Mississippi, where the bear, the beaver, the deer and the bison now invite them. The United States now own all the country on the east side of the Mississippi from the Gulf of Mexico to the mouth of the Wisconsin." * * *

The conclusion of the treaty and the departure of the Indians from Prairie du Chien is further told in the following words: "Seated upon rising ground, on benches; clad in blankets, either green or red, covered with handsome fur hats, with three beautiful ostrich plumes in each hat, dressed in ruffled calico shirts, leggings and moccasins—all new, and faces painted to suit the fancy of each individual, who held in his hand a new rifle—adorned too with silver broaches, silver clasps on each arm, and a large medal suspended on each breast—the Winnebago chiefs, principal warriors and headmen, to the number of forty-two, sat during two hours after all the goods had been delivered to the nation.

"Every individual of both sexes in the nation had lying directly before his person, on the ground, the share of goods belonging to the individual. Great pains had been taken to give each, such and just so many clothes as would be suitable to wear during the year to come. The pile of clothes for each person was nearly two feet in thickness, the sight of which entirely overcame with joy, our red friends, as they sat

during two hours, in the most profound silence, not taking off their eyes one moment from the goods now their own. Their minds were entirely overcome with joy. The Indians were then told to depart at the sound of the signal gun—the great cannon at the fort to be fired in their honor.”

Of their departure Atwater further says: “With one accord they all arose and shaking me heartily by the hand, many of them shedding tears, they one and all invited me to visit them at their respective places of abode. * * * In a few minutes they were off, covering a considerable surface with their canoes, each one of which carried a flag floating in the gentle breeze which ruffled the surface of the Mississippi.

“The Chippewas, Ottawas and Pottawatomies had received their goods in the same manner as the Winnebagoes, had been treated precisely in the same way, and three guns, one for each nation, had given them a signal to depart, and they had parted with me in the same kind and affectionate manner.” * * *

FINAL TREATY OF CHICAGO WITH THE POTTAWATTAMIES, CHIPPEWAS AND OTTAWAS CONCLUDED SEPTEMBER 26, 1833.

This final cession extinguished the Indian title in Illinois, ceded a vast territory “supposed to contain” the treaty says, “about five million acres” and provided for and resulted in the final removal of the Indians west of the Mississippi.

Whatever may be the view of the writer or the reader of Illinois history respecting the status and rights of the Indian, whether the land he has occupied be considered as the inevitable and just spoil of advancing civilization, or otherwise, what was seen and heard on this occasion at Chicago must ever arouse the sympathy of all thinking men. The Pottawattamies, that former proud and powerful nation, there exhibited in all their degradation and decline, were compelled by circumstance to which they had made no contribution, to forever desert the land of their fathers and terminate a residence of more than a century and a half at the demand of their more powerful masters.

Chicago in 1833, was but an insignificant frontier village, but it was then the scene of a great historic drama both picturesque and pathetic. Latrobe’s account so often quoted by the writers cannot be improved upon either for accuracy nor entertaining description, and much of it will here be set out in his own words. Before doing so however, let us see the viewpoint from which he wrote.

Charles J. Latrobe was an Englishman of learning, a traveler of note both in America and elsewhere, on some of his journeys with Washington Irving as his traveling companion. He was also a writer of marked ability, served his country as Governor of New South Wales and another English colony and above all was a close observer of men and events. His favorable views of America and Americans are in striking contrast with many other English writers of his time, so that he cannot be charged with prejudice, and as he made a long and hard journey to Chicago for the express purpose of witnessing the tribes and incidents having to do with this treaty, his account under such circum-

stances is of more than ordinary interest. He says ("The Rambler in North America," dedicated to Washington Irving, Vol. 2, Chap. XI):

"Hearing therefore that a treaty with the Indian tribes of the Pottawattamies was expected to take place at Chicago, towards the lower extremity of Lake Michigan, and that means might be found to cross the State of Illinois to the valley of the Mississippi, we resolved upon proceeding to Chicago.

"A public vehicle conveyed us across the peninsula of Michigan, over a tract of country, which five or six years ago, had been traversed by nothing but Indian trails, but which now was rapidly filling with a settled population from the eastward, and all the concomitants of ploughed land, girdled trees, log-huts—towns, villages, and farms. * * *

"When within five miles of Chicago, we came to the first Indian encampment. Five thousand Indians were said to be collected round this little upstart village, for the prosecution of the treaty by which they were to cede their lands in Michigan and Illinois. * * *

"I have been in many odd assemblages of my species, but in few, if any, of an equally singular character as with that in the midst of which we spent a week at Chicago.

"This little mushroom town is situated upon the verge of a perfectly level tract of country, for the greater part consisting of open prairie lands, at a point where a small river whose sources interlock in the wet season with those of the Illinois, enters Lake Michigan. * * *

"We found the village on our arrival crowded to excess, and we procured with great difficulty a small apartment; comfortless, and noisy from its close proximity to others, but quite as good as we could have hoped for.

"The Pottawattamies were encamped on all sides—on the wide level prairie beyond the scattered village, beneath the shelter of the low woods which chequered them, on the side of the small river, or to the leeward of the sand hills near the beach of the lake. They consisted of three principal tribes with certain adjuncts from smaller tribes. The main divisions are, the Pottawattamies of the Prairie and those of the Forest, and these are subdivided into distinct villages under their several chiefs.

"The General Government of the United States, in pursuance of the scheme of removing the whole Indian population westward of the Mississippi, had empowered certain gentlemen to frame a treaty with these tribes, to settle the terms upon which the cession of their reservations in these states should be made.

"A preliminary council had been held with the chiefs some days before our arrival. The principal commissioner had opened it, as we learnt, by stating that, 'as their Great Father in Washington had heard that they wished to sell their land, he had sent commissioners to treat with them.' The Indians promptly answered by their organ, 'that their Great Father in Washington must have seen a bad bird which had told him a lie, for that far from wishing to sell their land, they wished to keep it.' The commissioners, nothing daunted, replied: 'that nevertheless, as they had come together for a council, they must take the matter into consideration.' He then explained to them promptly the wishes and intentions of their Great Father, and asked their opinion thereon. Thus pressed, they looked at the sky, saw a few wandering clouds, and straight-

way adjourned *sine die*, as the weather is not clear enough for so solemn a council.

"However, as the treaty had been opened, provision was supplied to them by regular rations; and the same night they had great rejoicings—danced the wardance, and kept the eyes and ears of all open by running, howling about the village.

"Such was the state of affairs on our arrival. Companies of old warriors might be seen sitting smoking under every bush; arguing, palavering, or 'powwowing,' with great earnestness; but there seemed no possibility of bringing them to another council in a hurry.

"Meanwhile the village and its occupants presented a most motley scene. * * *

"Next in rank to the officers and commissioners, may be noticed certain storekeepers and merchants residing here; looking either to the influx of new settlers establishing themselves in the neighborhood, or those passing yet farther to the westward, for custom and profit; not to forget the chance of extraordinary occasions like the present. Add to these a doctor or two, two or three lawyers, a land agent, and five or six hotel-keepers. These may be considered as stationary, and proprietors of the half a hundred clapboard houses around you.

"Then for the birds of passage, exclusive of the Pottawattamies, of whom more anon—and emigrants and land speculators as numerous as the sand. You will find horse-dealers, and horse-stealers—rogues of every description, white, black, brown, and red—half-breeds, quarter-breeds, and men of no breed at all—dealers in pigs, poultry, and potatoes—men pursuing Indian claims, some for tracts of land, others, like our friend Snipe, for pigs which the wolves had eaten—creditors of the tribes, or of particular Indians, who know that they have no chance of getting their money, if they do not get it from the Government agents—sharps of every degree; pedlars, grog-sellers; Indian agents and Indian traders of every description, and contractors to supply the Pottawattamies with food. The little village was in an uproar from morning to night, and from night to morning; for, during the hours of darkness, when the housed portion of the population of Chicago strove to obtain repose in the crowded plank edifices of the village, the Indians howled, sang, wept, yelled, and whooped in their various encampments. With all this, the whites seemed to me to be more pagan than the red men.

"You will have understood, that the large body of Indians, collected in the vicinity, consisted not merely of chiefs and warriors, but that in fact the greater part of the whole tribe were present. For where the warrior was invited to feast at the expense of Government, the squaw took care to accompany him—and where the squaw went, the children or papposes, the ponies, and the innumerable dogs followed—and here they all were living merrily at the cost of the Government. * * *

"Of their dress, made up as it is of a thousand varieties of apparel, but little general idea can be given. There is nothing among them that can be called a national costume. That has apparently long been done away with, or at least so far cloaked under their European ornaments, blankets, and finery, as to be scarcely distinguishable. Each seemed to clothe him or herself as best suited their individual means or taste. Those who possessed the means, were generally attired in the most fantastic manner, and the most gaudy colors. A blanket and breech-

cloth was possessed with a very few exceptions by the poorest among the males. Most added leggings, more or less ornamented, made of blue, scarlet, green, or brown boardcloth; and surcoats of every color, and every material; together with rich sashes, and gaudy shawl or handkerchief-turbans.

"All these diverse articles of clothing, with the embroidered petticoats and shawls of the richer squaws and the complicated headdress, were covered with innumerable trinkets of all descriptions, thin plates of silver, beads, mirrors, and embroidery. On their faces, the black and vermilion paint was disposed a thousand ways, more or less fanciful and horrible. Comparatively speaking, the women were seldom seen gaily drest, and dandyism seemed to be more particularly the prerogative of the males, many of whom spent hours at the morning toilet. I remember seeing one old fool, who, lacking other means of adornment and distinction, had chalked the whole of his face and bare limbs white.

"All, with very few exceptions, seemed sunk into the lowest state of degradation, though some missionary efforts have been made among them also, by the American Societies. The Pottawattamie language is emphatic; but we had no means of becoming acquainted with its distinctive character, or learning to what class of Indian tongues it belonged.

"All was bustle and tumult, especially at the hour set apart for the distribution of the rations.

"Many were the scenes which here presented themselves, portraying the habits of both red men and the demi-civilized beings around them. The interior of the village was one chaos of mud, rubbish, and confusion. Frame and clapboard houses were springing up daily under the active axes and hammers of the speculators, and piles of lumber announced the preparation for yet other edifices of an equally light character. Races occurred frequently on a piece of level sward without the village, on which temporary booths afforded the motley multitude the means of 'stimulating'; and betting and gambling were the order of the day. Within the vile two-storied barrack, which dignified as usual by the title of Hotel, afforded us quarters, all was in a state of most appalling confusion, filth, and racket. The public table was such a scene of confusion, that we avoided it from necessity. The French landlord was a sporting character, and everything was left to chance, who, in the shape of a fat housekeeper, fumed and toiled round the premises from morning to night.

"Within, there was neither peace nor comfort, and we spent much of our time in the open air. A visit to the gentlemen at the fort, a morning's grouse-shooting, or a gallop on the broad surface of the prairie, filled up the intervals in our perturbed attempts at reading or writing in doors, while awaiting the progress of the Treaty.

"I loved to stroll out towards sunset across the river, and gaze upon the level horizon, stretching to the northwest over the surface of the prairie, dotted with innumerable objects far and near. Not far from the river lay many groups of tents constructed of coarse canvas, blankets, and mats, and surmounted by poles, supporting meat, moccasins, and rags. Their vicinity was always enlivened by various painted Indian figures, dressed in the most gaudy attire. The interior of the hovels generally displayed a confined area, perhaps covered with a few half-

rotten mats or shavings, upon which men, women, children, and baggage, were heaped pell-mell.

"Far and wide the grassy prairie teemed with figures; warriors mounted or on foot, squaws, and horses. Here a race between three or four Indian ponies, each carrying a double rider, whooping and yelling like fiends. There a solitary horseman with a long spear, turbaned like an Arab, scouring along at full speed; groups of hobbled horses; Indian dogs and children; or a grave conclave of grey chiefs seated on the grass in consultation.

"It was amusing to wind silently from group to group—here noting the raised knife, the sudden drunken brawl, quashed by the good-natured and even playful interference of the neighbors; there a party breaking up their encampment, and falling with their little train of loaded ponies and wolfish dogs, into the deep black narrow trail running to the north. You peep into a wigwam, and see a domestic feud; the chief sitting in dogged silence on the mat, while the women, of which there were commonly two or three in every dwelling, and who appeared every evening even more elevated with the fumes of whiskey than the males, read him a lecture. From another tent a constant voice of wrangling and weeping would proceed, when suddenly an offended fair one would draw the mat aside, and taking a youth standing without by the hand, lead him apart, and sitting down on the grass, set up the most indescribable whine as she told her grief. Then forward comes an Indian, staggering with his chum from a debauch; he is met by his squaw, with her child dangling in a fold of her blanket behind, and the sobbing and weeping which accompanies her whining appeal to him, as she hangs to his hand, would melt your heart, if you did not see that she was quite as tipsy as himself.

"Here sitting apart and solitary, an Indian expends the exuberance of his intoxicated spirits in the most ludicrous singing and gesticulation; and there squat a circle of unruly toppers indulging themselves in the most unphilosophic and excessive peals of laughter.

"It is a grievous thing that Government is not strong-handed enough to put a stop to the shameful and scandalous sale of whiskey to these poor miserable wretches. But here lie casks of it for sale under the very eye of the commissioners, met together for purposes, which demand that sobriety should be maintained, were it only that no one should be able to lay at their door an accusation of unfair dealing, and of having taken advantage of the helpless Indian in a bargain, whereby the people of the United States were to be so greatly the gainers. And such was the state of things day by day. However anxious I and others might be to exculpate the United States Government from the charge of cold and selfish policy toward the remnant of the Indian tribes, and from that of resorting to unworthy and diabolical means in attaining possession of their lands—as long as it can be said with truth, that drunkenness was not guarded against, and that the means were furnished at the very time of the treaty, and under the very nose of the commissioners—how can it be expected but a stigma will attend every transaction of this kind. The sin may lie at the door of the individuals more immediately in contract with them; but for the character of the people as a nation, it should be guarded against, beyond a possibility of transgression. Who will believe that any act, however formally executed by the chiefs, is

valid, as long as it is known that whiskey was one of the parties to the treaty?

"But how sped the treaty?" you will ask.

"Day after day passed. It was in vain that the signal-gun from the fort gave notice of an assemblage of chiefs at the council fire. Reasons were always found for its delay. One day an influential chief was not in the way; another, the sky looked cloudy, and the Indian never performs any important business except the sky be clear. At length, on the 21st of September, the Pottawattamies, resolved to meet the commissioners. We were politely invited to be present.

"The council fire was lighted under a spacious open shed on the green meadow, on the opposite side of the river from that on which the fort stood. From the difficulty of getting all together, it was late in the afternoon when they assembled. There might be twenty or thirty chiefs present, seated at the lower end of the enclosure; while the commissioners, interpreters, etc., were at the upper. The palaver was opened by the principal commissioner. He requested to know why he and his colleagues were called to the council. An old warrior arose, and in short sentences, generally of five syllables, delivered with a monotonous intonation, and rapid utterance, gave answer. His gesticulation was appropriate, but rather violent. Rice, the half-breed interpreter, explained the signification from time to time to the audience; and it was seen that the old chief, who had got his lesson, answered one question by proposing another, the sum and substance of his oration being—"that the assembled chiefs wished to know what was the object of their Great Father at Washington in calling his Red Children together at Chicago!"

"This was amusing enough after the full explanation given a week before at the opening session; and, particularly when it was recollected that they had feasted sumptuously during the interval at the expense of their Great Father, was not making very encouraging progress. A young chief rose and spoke vehemently to the same purpose. Hereupon the commissioner made them a forcible Jacksonian discourse, wherein a good deal which was akin to threat, was mingled with exhortations not to play with their Great Father, but to come to an early determination, whether they would or would not sell and exchange their territory; and this done, the council was dissolved. One or two tipsy old chiefs raised an occasional disturbance, else matters were conducted with due gravity.

"The relative positions of the commissioner and the whites before the council fire, and that of the Red Children of the Forest and Prairie, were to me strikingly impressive. The glorious light of the setting sun streaming in under the low roof of the Council House, fell full on the countenances of the former as they faced the West—while the pale light of the East, hardly lighted up the dark and painted lineaments of the poor Indians, whose souls evidently clave to their birthright in that quarter. Even though convinced of the necessity of their removal, my heart bled for them in their desolation and decline. Ignorant and degraded as they may have been in their original state, their degradation is now tenfold, after years of intercourse with the whites; and their speedy disappearance from the earth appears as certain as though it were already sealed and accomplished.

"Your own reflection will lead you to form the conclusion, and it will be a just one—that even if he had the will, the power would be wanting, for the Indian to keep his territory; and that the business of arranging the terms of an Indian treaty, whatever it might have been two hundred years ago, while the Indian tribes had not, as now, thrown aside the rude but vigorous intellectual character which distinguished many among them, now lies chiefly between the various traders, agents, creditors, and half-breeds of the tribes, on whom custom and necessity have made the degraded chiefs dependant, and the Government agents. When the former have seen matters so far arranged that their self-interest, and various schemes and claims are likely to be fulfilled and allowed to their hearts' content—the silent acquiescence of the Indian follows of course; and till this is the case, the treaty can never be amicably effected. In fine, before we quitted Chicago on the 25th, three or four days later, the treaty with the Pottawattamies was concluded—the commissioners putting their hands, and the assembled chiefs their paws to the same."

Thus, as so ably described by the English writer, was consummated the transfer by which Illinois ceased to be the land of the Indian. The Indians received as compensation for this vast grant \$100,000.00 "to satisfy sundry individuals in behalf of whom reservations were asked, which the commissioners refused to grant"; \$175,000.00 to "satisfy the claims made against" the Indians; \$100,000.00 to be paid in goods and provisions; \$280,000.00 to be paid in an annuity of \$14,000.00 each year for twenty years; \$150,000.00 "to be applied to the erection of mills, farm houses, Indian houses, blacksmith shops, agricultural improvements," etc., and \$70,000.00 "for purposes of education and the encouragement of the domestic arts."

That in the negotiation of this treaty there was more intrigue, and more attention to selfish interests of half-breeds, traders and others seeking personal gain, than in the negotiation of any other Indian treaty seems quite evident. The reading of the schedules of beneficiaries attached to the treaty would tend to indicate that the rights of the Indians themselves were quite a secondary matter.

One remarkable feature of this treaty is the fact that by its provisions some five hundred to one thousand persons, most of them with no Indian blood in their veins, derived personal gain from the transaction; the allowance and payment of individual claims, ranging in amount from a few dollars to many thousands, and, as already noted, about one-third of the cash consideration was thus disbursed. Among the individual beneficiaries also appear the following: Alexander Robinson \$10,000.00 cash and \$300.00 annuity, "in addition to annuities already granted"; Billy Caldwell \$10,000.00 cash and \$400.00 annuity, "in addition to annuities already granted"; John Kinzie Clark \$400.00; allowances to Antoine Ouilmette and his family; "John K. Clark's Indian children \$400.00," and various allowances to the Kinzie family.

The mere reading of the treaty demonstrates that the "birds of passage," "land speculators," "men pursuing Indian claims," "creditors of the tribe," "sharpers of every degree," and "Indian traders of every description," so graphically described by Mr. Latrobe constituted no small minority of the assembly at Chicago on this occasion, or of those who had to do with framing the treaty.

Mr. Quaife is entitled to credit for writing the truth about these transactions in detail in his recent book *Chicago and the Old Northwest*, (p. 348-366) under the title "The Vanishing of the Red Man."

Three years after the signing of this last treaty and in the years 1835 and 1836 the Pottawattamies, or at least the most of them, then some 5,000 in number, were removed west of the Mississippi, into Missouri, near Fort Leavenworth. They remained there but a year or two on account of the hostility of the frontier settlers, and were again removed to Council Bluffs, and in a few years again to a reservation in Kansas, others to the Indian Territory. Their history since leaving Illinois has been in the main that of all the Indian tribes—a steady dwindling.

The final chapter of the Indian history of our State must, of necessity, ever be found in the sad and pathetic story of the treaty of 1833. Its readers will ever follow the Pottawattamies—these children of the Prairie and of the Forest, as they took their farewell look at old Lake Michigan, and crossed for the last time in their westward journey, the plains, and woods, and streams of the land of the Illinois, with sympathy for their unhappy destiny, and with regret for the causes which made it possible. And will ever turn for a better and brighter picture, to the American days of long ago, when the Indian ancestors sat in treaty making councils and by the council fire, with all the pride of his native manhood; when his eloquent words bespoke the man and when the calumet, as it passed from hand to hand, from Chief to Chief, whether White or Red, meant peace, and friendship and honor and all good will to men.



PART III

Contributions to State History

1915





GEN. JAMES SHIELDS.

GENERAL JAMES SHIELDS OF ILLINOIS.

(By Francis O'Shaughnessy.)*

The Governor of Illinois, Honorable Edward F. Dunne, has commissioned me to speak for him and the State which he so eminently governs, and bids me say that Illinois and its people are proud of the honor that this occasion brings to the memory of a citizen whose career of great achievements in civil and military annals of our country had its inception in Illinois.

This beautiful monument to the memory of General James Shields is a recognition not alone to the man but it is a tribute to the spirit of the Nation which he served, and it will be for generations of the children of Missouri an inspiration to turn their hearts with affection upon their country's deserving men, to deepen their faith in the sanctity of American institutions, and to claim their unselfish devotion in the hour of national peril.

This monument, the image of Shields, is a glory to the spirit of the Fathers of the Republic who, with vision of prophets, laid down a plan of government that withstood the shock of war, both foreign and domestic, that absorbed and assimilated the mixed races of Europe and made a people with a national spirit, a national ideal and a national conscience.

When Jefferson wrote into the Declaration of Independence what he declared to be a self-evident truth "that all men are created equal and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, and that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," he stated a principle for government that was yet to be proved, if it could be tried, and the Fathers, out of sacrifices of blood and treasure, through the achievements of the Revolution, were enabled to build a structure of government that became, was and has been the full embodiment of freedom. The notion of liberty quickly runs through the fabric of society and the Revolutionary Fathers in America, by their example, set in motion the impulse for liberty in all countries then suffering oppression.

In no country was liberty more ardently sought than in Ireland, where real oppression had been cruelly exercised, where the people were disfranchised, as well as despoiled of property and land, and where the great lawmaking genius of Englishmen had been taxed to its utmost bounds to find ways and means to destroy a people without actually poisoning all the wells. The people of Ireland read the Declaration of Independence, and Grattan put into execution a movement that by the menace of revolution England gave Ireland a Parliament, only to snatch it away when an opportune time arrived to do so. The revolution of '98

* Address delivered at dedication of monument to General Shields at Carrollton, Mo., Nov. 12, 1914.

and Emmet's ill-fated rising broke the spears and stayed the hand, but did not subdue the spirit of liberty in the heart of the Irish patriot.

That spirit was the heritage of the youth of Ireland. It was the heritage of James Shields, the son of Charles Shields and Catherine, his wife, born on May 9, 1806, in the village of Altmore, County Tyrone. The honor of James Shields and his renown among the people of America, give testimony that he was true to the heritage.

Shields' father died when the lad was six years of age. His mother, a woman of refinement and education, made sacrifices to give her sons as good education as was available. Sometimes before Shields' day, a school teacher and a wolf had in Ireland the same social and political status under English laws. The same reward was offered for the head of each. In suppressing education the English had destroyed or confiscated all the schools. So Shields, like the other lads, attended the hedge school, where the teacher assembled his classes on the roadside for instruction.

But a series of fortunate events aided Shields in acquiring an education. When he was 10 or 12 years of age, his Uncle James returned to Ireland from America. The uncle had in his youth attended a seminary, but his inclination for travel was greater than his vocation for the priesthood and he went to America, where he fought as a soldier in the Revolution, taught Greek and Latin in a school at Charleston, S. C., enlisted under Jackson in the War of 1812, and was shot in the leg while fighting the battle of New Orleans. The uncle became the instructor of Shields in both the liberal arts and the arts of war, and his soldier exploits became the passion of his young nephew. The uncle was intense in his devotion to America and this love for the new land Shields also absorbed as the uncle unfolded to him the reality of a free country, which held out hope and promises to every deserving man. The uncle promised the lad that if he would come to America he would make him his heir. However, when Shields did land, the uncle had died.

There were at that time in Ireland many veterans of the Continental wars. They had stories to tell of battles, of maneuvers, of strategy, of daring. Shields was of an age and of a disposition in mind and character to become imbued with all that fostered the soldier spirit, and he was among the most willing and interested listeners to the veterans' tales.

When Shields was 15 years of age, he repulsed an attack made upon him by one of these veterans, and the controversy ended in a duel, which failed because the pistols were not in proper condition for firing. The outcome of the duel was that the soldier who had been the aggressor in the quarrel became the warm friend of Shields. He trained Shields in fencing until he became a skilled swordsman. He taught Shields French and this accomplishment opened the door of opportunity to him. When he landed at Kaskaskia, Illinois, his knowledge of the French language in this community of French people enabled him to secure his first position as school teacher, which was the beginning of his great career in Illinois. The veteran presented Shields with books on military science, and instructed him to the extent of his own knowledge in that science. This instruction added to what Shields had learned from his uncle, the veteran of American wars, and what he otherwise acquired, qualified him to

assume at the outset of his military career the rank of Brigadier General, which he adorned with true military glory.

The education of Shields was concluded by a relative of his mother, a priest from Maynooth College. The priest's contribution to the career of Shields was the setting before the young man's vision, the moral worth of a man who is faithful to the tenets of his religion. That Shields was faithful is attested by many evidences in his life, but one that impressed me is related by the saintly old Bishop John Hogan of Kansas City, of happy memory, who was the pioneer Catholic priest of North Missouri, and who more than fifty years ago made the journey on horseback from Chillicothe to Hickory Branch, in the center of Chariton County, to perform the marriage ceremony of my father and mother.

Bishop Hogan relates that one day in October, 1866, a gentleman called at his house in Chillicothe to have his infant baptized. He and his wife, with the infant of a few months of age, and another lady, had driven from Carroll County, forty miles, for the baptism. The ceremonial of the Catholic church requires sponsors or God-parents for an infant, and when Father Hogan inquired for the God-father, the man modestly explained that he had but recently located in Missouri and knew no one to ask, and begged of Father Hogan that he act. He gave his name as James Shields and that of his wife as Mary Carr, but it was not until some weeks later that Father Hogan learned that the man was the distinguished soldier and statesman, General Shields.

Shields, at the age of 16, sailed for America; the ship, however, was wrecked near the coast of Scotland and the captain, one seaman and Shields were the only ones saved. While the ship was undergoing repairs he became a tutor in the family of a Presbyterian minister. He sailed with the ship and afterward made several voyages with the captain, until he was blown from a topmast and fell, breaking both legs. After three months in the hospital he recovered and gave up the seaman's life, but the experience he gained equipped him for leadership even on the sea. Forty years afterward he and his wife were passengers on board a ship bound for Mexico, when the captain and mate were at a loss how to handle the craft, and Shields assumed command and piloted the ship into the harbor at Mazatlan.

His public career began at Kaskaskia, Illinois, where he arrived with a well diversified experience and education, fine courage, good manners and address, ready wit, but without money. He had just turned his majority. He could speak French but was not French—an arrangement that fitted exactly for the needs of the school in this little metropolis, and he was duly installed as a teacher. To know the times, it is necessary to know something of Kaskaskia; it was the second settlement on the upper Mississippi; Cahokia, opposite St. Louis, was the first, but Kaskaskia was the more promising and it grew in importance as a trading post, a military position and as the Capital of Illinois. In 1766, the French had built a fort costing a million crowns, for the protection of Kaskaskia and vicinity. George Rogers Clark, in 1778, captured the place from the English and saved the Mississippi Valley for the Colonies. Pontiac, the great Indian Chief, was murdered near Cahokia. In 1779 it became the Capital of the Territory of Illinois. Large stores existed, and the wholesale dealers supplied the village of St. Louis and

Cape Girardeau. Chicago then was unknown, except as a place described by Father Marquette, in his *Journals*, where he camped in the winter of 1673. Aaron Burr was at Kaskaskia in furtherance of his plan or conspiracy to conquer Mexico and make his daughter Theodosia the Empress. It was the most westerly point visited by General LaFayette in his memorable visit to the United States in 1825 as the guest of the Nation.

The entertainment of General LaFayette by Illinois was prodigal in its lavishness. The Legislature of the State appropriated for the occasion nearly one-third of all the taxes levied by the State for that year. Governor Coles of Illinois addressed LaFayette in these words:

"Sir, when the waters of the Mississippi, generations hence, are traversed by carriers of commerce from all parts of the world, when there shall live west of the Father of Waters, a people greater in numbers than the present population of the United States, when, Sir, the power of England, always malevolent, shall have waned to nothing, and the eagles and stars of our national arms are recognized and honored in all parts of the globe, when the old men and children of today shall have been gathered to their fathers and their graves have been obliterated from the face of the earth, Kaskaskia will still remember and honor your name. Sir, as the Commercial Queen of the West, she welcomes you to a place within her portals. So long as Kaskaskia exists, your name and praises shall be sung by her." Old Kaskaskia, its vision of greatness has long since passed. Its buildings and its streets were washed away by the strong current of the Mississippi and little now remains of the city of promise, the Commercial Queen of the West.

Shields, in Kaskaskia, began to exert an influence upon the community. He was admitted to the bar in 1832. In 1836 he was elected to the Legislature, then sitting at Vandalia, the new Capital of the State, and he took his seat in the midst of a group of lawmakers, the equal of which perhaps never since existed in one assemblage in Illinois. There were Orville H. Browning, Robert K. McLaughlin, Cyrus Gatewood, John Hogan, Edward D. Baker, Milton Carpenter, Stephen A. Douglas, Ninian W. Edwards, William Ewing, Augustus C. French, John J. Hardin, Abraham Lincoln, Dr. John Logan, John A. McClernand, and a group of others. Out of that assemblage there was one who became President; another, a candidate for the Presidency; another, a candidate for the Vice Presidency; seven who became Senators of the United States; one attained the rank of Major General; one, a Brevet Major General; a dozen Colonels; eight became Congressmen; three, Lieutenant Governors; two, Attorneys General; two, State Treasurers; three, State Auditors; two, Ministers Plenipotentiary, and many became Judges of the Supreme and Superior Courts.

These men left their impress not only upon Illinois but upon the nation. When Shields joined this wonderful group of men they were all young and all full of zeal and ambition, as their careers so truly prove. The man who could rise to prominence in the midst of such men and in such times must of necessity possess both ability and personality. In his second term as a Legislator, he was appointed Auditor of the State by Governor Ford. It was a position not only of honor but one of grave responsibility.

Illinois, in 1836, had launched a program of large internal improvement; it was caught in the panic of 1837 and 1838, with a big debt; its honor was at stake. Shields, as Auditor, shouldered the responsibilities and brought the State through with its credit unimpaired.

In 1843, Stephen A. Douglas resigned from the Bench of the Supreme Court. Shields was appointed by the Governor to fill his unexpired term, and the following year was elected to a full term by the Legislature. In this position he proved himself a diligent and able jurist. His decisions are found in the early reports of the State and are among the old landmarks of the law of our State. They are sound in principle, clear in diction, and free from prolixity.

Shields' fame might have been locked up in the sheepskins of law libraries had not President Polk called him from the Supreme Bench to the office of Commissioner General of the Land Office of the United States. He had just set to work in a broad, intelligent way to administer the affairs of this big office when the annexation of Texas, followed by a chain of rapid events, culminated in a war with Mexico.

Shields, who as a young man had seen some military service in the Seminole war as a private, and possessed of military knowledge learned from his uncle and the veteran I have mentioned, tendered his resignation as Land Commissioner and received from President Polke a commission as Brigadier General of Volunteers. His brigade was made up of Illinois regiments. They arrived at the Rio Grande in August, 1846. Shields for a time was under Gen. Zachary Taylor. His brigade was then sent to Vera Cruz to join the army under General Winfield Scott. The army set out to capture the City of Mexico. The crucial battle of the campaign was the Battle of Cerro Gordo, fought in a pass of the mountains. In a critical time during the battle, Shields' brigade was sent to intercept the main army of Santa Anna. The command was brilliantly executed and the work accomplished, but Shields was struck in the breast by a grape shot measuring one and one-half inches in diameter, which penetrated his lung and passed out near the spine. He was carried from the field and his death was officially reported by General Scott, who commended in highest terms the gallantry of General Shields.

An Irish physician, McMillan, who had been a surgeon in the French army and Mexican army, and who was at that time a prisoner of war, asked leave to treat Shields when the American surgeons had pronounced his wound mortal. McMillan took a silk handkerchief, wrapped it around a ramrod, gently pressed the rod and handkerchief through the track of the wound, passing it entirely through the body, and in less than six weeks Shields was back in the saddle in command of his brigade.

At Chapultepec he swept the field and with the Palmetto Regiment of South Carolina he burst through the Belin Gate of the City of Mexico. A bullet had shattered his arm, but he did not retire from the field until he saw his men, the first to enter the city, hoisting the flag within the walls.

Shields had won his stars as a soldier, and the country rang with the praise of his gallantry. South Carolina voted the sum of five thousand dollars to purchase a jewel hilted sword to present to Shields,

and Illinois appropriated the sum of three thousand dollars for a like purpose. These two swords, after the death of Shields, were purchased by the United States Government from his widow for the sum of ten thousand dollars.

In the halls of the Capitol at Washington is a great painting depicting the field at Chapultepec, showing Shields in his shirt sleeves, unhorsed, in the midst of his men, directing the charge. It is an actual copy of a daguerreotype made on the battlefield by Daguerre, the father of photography.

At the close of the war, President Polk gave Shields the appointment of Governor of the Territory of Oregon. He had accepted the place, but the people of Illinois claimed him as their son and bestowed upon him a greater honor. They gave him a seat in the Senate of the United States in place of Senator Sidney Breese. Breese had been an able Senator but he had to yield to the hero of Cerro Gordo. Breese had previously served as a Justice of the Supreme Court of Illinois, and shortly after his defeat for re-election, as Senator, returned to the Supreme Bench of the State, where for twenty years he served as one of the great jurists of the country.

When Shields took his seat in the Senate, a question arose as to his right to sit as a Senator of the United States. The Constitution required a period of nine years citizenship as a prerequisite. Shields had come to the United States before he attained legal age, but upon his appointment by the Governor to the place of State Auditor in 1838, it was deemed advisable that he apply for naturalization to remove any doubt as to his eligibility. The term of years between the date of taking out of his papers and his election to the Senate of the United States was less than nine years. Rather than cloud the title to his seat in the Senate he promptly resigned. The Governor of Illinois convened the Legislature in extraordinary session in December, 1847; a full period of nine years had now elapsed. Ex-Senator Breese and General John A. McClernand were again contestants for the seat, as they had been when Shields was first elected, but the Legislature again elected Shields, adding to his already unique history the further distinction of being twice elected to the Senate in one year.

Shields, in the Senate of the United States, was in the midst of a group who were second only in greatness to the Fathers of the Republic. There were Clay, Webster, Calhoun, Cass, Douglas, Jefferson Davis and Benton. In this group of men there were such clashes of intellect as shook the nation. These were the lightning flashes from out the gray, black clouds which forecasted the storm that burst in the awful cataclysm of the Civil War. In this assemblage of great men Shields measured up to all save a few. He was by no means dwarfed by the giants who towered so majestically in the forum. He was a democrat and was committed to the policy of that party as expressed by Douglas in his Kansas-Nebraska bill, which provided for the admission of those two states, with the question of *slave or free* to be determined by the freeholders of the new states in the adoption of their state constitutions. Shields was opposed to the extension of slavery; he voted for the bill excluding it from the District of Columbia; he voted against its extension to California, and in support of his vote he delivered a masterly

speech which showed not only his vision as a soldier but as a Senator, and he pointed to the abyss to which the contending forces were rushing headlong. He said:

"A fearful controversy has raged here and throughout the country this whole session. A controversy that excites the strongest and deepest feeling of our nature; a controversy between sentiment and interest, between liberty and slavery, and yet no man now, either in this body or in the other hall, seriously contemplates any other result than an amicable adjustment by an honorable and national compromise. Sir, my notion is that this controversy could not have raged one month in any other country on earth without a national convulsion. Why is this, sir? Because the people of this country are trained and educated to settle all their difficulties, public and private, by just and honorable compromise, while the people of other countries, in great national difficulties, are accustomed to have immediate recourse to force. Sir, there are only two principles employed in the government of the political world, force and compromise. Some nations are governed by both principles, others by force alone, but this is the only nation that has always been governed by compromise since the foundation of the government, and it must continue to be so governed so long as it continues to be a republic. Sir, when compromise ends, force begins, and the tocsin of Civil war is the death knell of Republicanism."

It could not be said of Shields that his spirit of compromise was due to fear or timidity, because he had shown on the Mexican fields that he was brave to the point of rashness, but he knew what it meant to bring warfare into the heart of a country; he had been born and was educated in a land where force was the dominating influence; where compromise was an unheard of term, and his soul that had been seared by the cruel force of England, abhorred the thought that such an iron was to pierce the soul of free people, of this glorious land. Happily, the dire prophecy that civil war would ring the death knell of Republicanism was not fulfilled, but so near was it a prophecy that we should ever pray for peace and honorable compromise when we count up war's horrible toll.

The politics of Illinois were torn apart on the issues of slavery. Lincoln began to assume the leadership of the forces opposing Douglas, and at the end of Shields' term the situation was acute. Lincoln, before the Legislature, was the caucus nominee of the Whigs; Shields, the caucus nominee of the Democrats. There was a group of Anti-Nebraska Democrats who refused to be bound by the Democratic caucus, five of them, and they supported Lyman Trumbull. On the first ballot Lincoln had 45; Shields, 41; Trumbull, 5, and ten scattered. On each succeeding ballot Lincoln became weaker; Shields' vote remained the same. After eight ballots were taken Shields' name was withdrawn. On the ninth ballot Lincoln's name was withdrawn, and the Whigs and Anti-Nebraska Democrats joined and elected Lyman Trumbull. Shields' retirement was not due to any cause other than the issue of no compromise. Any discussion of that question has no place here other than to point out the cause that led to Shields' retirement as a Senator from Illinois. Thus ended the public life of Shields in Illinois.

He moved to Minnesota and settled near the city of Fairbault. He was not long in this new community when Minnesota was organized into a state. He was one of the two Senators first chosen to represent that state in the Senate of the United States. In casting lots with his colleague he drew the short term of two years. When he finished his service as Senator from Minnesota his party was in the minority in that state.

Shortly afterward he took up his residence in California. He became interested with some California gentlemen in a mining enterprise in Mexico. He went to Mexico for the purpose of superintending the property, and it was while he was in Mexico that Fort Sumter was fired upon. When he learned of the Civil war he immediately tendered his services to his old friend, President Lincoln. His services were at once accepted and he was given the commission of Brigadier General.

The most conspicuous service he rendered in the Civil War was in the battle of Winchester, when he lured the great Stonewall Jackson into a battle and routed him. It was during the progress of this battle that he again sustained a severe injury. With his shoulder fractured, his arm and body lacerated and bruised, and while lying prostrate, he directed the movements of the battle which ended in such signal success for the Union forces. His achievements at once awakened the interest of President Lincoln in his military skill, and he gave him an appointment as Major General, but the appointment failed of confirmation in the Senate on account of the hostility of Secretary Stanton to the promotion. A short time after this he resigned his commission in the army and retired to a farm in Missouri, where he resided until his death.

I will not dwell at length upon his public career in the state of Missouri. He was not long a resident within the hospitable bounds of Carroll County until the people of this congressional district urged upon him the nomination for congress. He received a majority of the votes of the electors, but the poll of one or two counties was rejected and his adversary was given the certificate of election. However, Congress voted him a year's salary. He then became a representative in the General Assembly; was appointed railroad commissioner, and upon the death of Senator Bogy, was again elected by his colleagues in the General Assembly to fill the unexpired term in the United States Senate. While this term was of but a few months' duration, it was a testimonial to the character of the man who, in the counsels of men, always stood amongst the foremost. There is no honor which a state can bestow upon a citizen greater than its mantle of senatorship, and this priceless honor was three times bestowed upon this most extraordinary man by three different states.

Without retracing my steps over his life, it is proper to observe that the men with whom Shields associated himself were, as a rule, able, aggressive and eminent men. His early partners in the practice of law were Adam Snyder and Gustave Koerner, of the firm of Snyder, Shields & Koerner, practicing at Belleville, Illinois. Snyder became a member of Congress and died on the eve of an election which would have made him Governor of Illinois. Gustave Koerner, a German patriot who found it necessary to make a precipitious flight from his native land, and the junior member of the law firm, became one of Illinois' most distin-

guished lawyers. Later, he became a Justice of the Supreme Court, and during President Lincoln's term, was Minister Plenipotentiary at the Court of Spain.

Shields, in his triumphs, was modest and unassuming; in his defeats he bore a courtly kindness toward his political adversaries. This was the testimonial of Senator John M. Palmer, who as a young man in the Legislature was one of the group of five who breached the party caucus and supported Trumbull against Shields, the party nominee. Senator Palmer, upon the occasion of the unveiling of the statue in Statuary Hall, said:

"It was my misfortune to differ with him on a great public question. * * * I was compelled by my convictions of political public duty to vote for another man for a seat in this honorable body. I did so, and my nomination and vote gave to the body another of the great men of whom Illinois is proud. This, I am proud to say, had no influence upon the personal relations between General Shields and myself, we continued to be friends. His conduct toward me was always that of generous friendship."

A number of evidences of his magnanimity and true greatness might be related. One was an incident which occurred in the battle of Contreras in Mexico, when his brigade was sent to join the brigade of General Persifer F. Smith. Smith had planned the battle, but Shields being the ranking officer was entitled to take command. Smith, however, was unaware of this and gave directions to Shields as to what position he should take in the battle. Shields, recognizing Smith's mistake, and being unwilling to deprive him of the credit which would come from the plans he had matured, assumed the subordinate position assigned to him and threw his entire energy into the battle, bringing the reward of victory to his junior officer.

Semmes, in his work on the Campaign of General Scott, says of this, that it was "a victory over the egotism of our nature which his friends should cherish more than a thousand victories on the battlefield."

The great Missourian, Bland, in his address in Congress upon the presentation of Shields' monument, said:

"To show the magnanimity of the character of this great soldier it is related of him that on one occasion one of his admirers in introducing him to the people introduced him as the only man who ever conquered Stonewall Jackson. In reply, General Shields modestly stated that although he had come nearer perhaps than any other soldier to whipping Stonewall Jackson, yet the truth of history impelled him to say that Stonewall Jackson was never conquered."

After the close of the Civil War, when a great body of citizens of Missouri were disfranchised, Shields took up their cause and worked with all of his splendid energy to restore to these disfranchised citizens their constitutional rights. It was while he was engaged in this work that my father met him on the occasion of Shields' visit to Keytesville, where my father was living.

The acquaintance between my father and General Shields grew to intimacy and it was a real, abiding affection. One of my earliest recollections was my father's announcing in our home that General Shields had died. A few days later, when his remains were brought back from Ottumwa, Iowa, which was the place of his death, to Carrollton, it be-

came necessary to transfer them from the North Missouri Railroad to the Wabash Railroad at Moberly, where my father then lived. He was chairman of the delegation which, through the kindness of the gentlemen from Carrollton who had arrived in Moberly to escort the remains to the home of his bereaved widow, was allowed to act with them as a guard of honor. Behind the casket bearing the remains of this great jurist, statesman and soldier, my father walked along the dusty roads to the place of burial, and it is one of the recollections which is green in his memory.

Illinois had given to General Shields in his lifetime the highest honor and distinction it had to bestow, and it was only fitting that the man who had borne these honors with such dignity should be remembered after death. In the rotunda of the Capitol at Washington there is assigned to each of the Sovereign States of the Union a place for the setting of two monuments.

The states, with jealous pride, have chosen for this honor only such men as they deemed entitled to enduring fame. The selection for Illinois devolved upon the General Assembly and the Governor of the State. In choosing whom to honor, the past of Illinois was viewed and the graves were called upon to give up their illustrious dead, that they might pass in review, clothed again in mortal form, showing the scars and laurels fairly won in the Nation's cause. In solemn file they marched, the long dead Governors, Senators, Generals, Justices of the United States Supreme Court, Secretaries of Presidents' Cabinets, and all the men of Illinois who had helped to make and form and unite the Nation—Shields among them. He showed his record as a lawmaker and judge, as a State and National administrator of important office, he saluted with the jeweled Palmetto sword and bared his breast, marked with the crimson scar of the bullet wound of Cerro Gordo, his arm bore the scar of Chapultepec and the wound of Winchester, his Senatorial toga from Illinois was unsullied. He had accounted well for his years after serving Illinois, Minnesota and Missouri had given him its greatest honors. He had gone to the grave with a matchless record. Upon him the honor fell, and in one of the niches assigned to Illinois in Statuary Hall at Washington, stands the monument in bronze of General James Shields.

Missouri's soil has been the resting place of General Shields and Missouri has dealt kindly with his ashes. Posterity will venerate his memory. The service he rendered to this, his adopted country, has been repaid in the kindness this country has given him and the exiles from his motherland, who have found within its hospitable shores peace and plenty, homes where happiness abides, and the blessings of good-will and brotherhood with men of every race.

GENERAL JAMES SHIELDS AS A POET.

(From Gov. Koerner's Memoirs, pp. 571-572; written in 1851 when Shields was U. S. Senator.)

General Shields very much surprised me about this time by a letter from Washington which I will give as a trait of his character.

"As I have turned poet, I wish you to criticize the enclosed with the utmost severity. As I take no pride in the vocation, you need not fear to offend me. I promised a very intelligent young lady to try my hand on an Irish song, as we differed in opinion about the style and spirit of it. The enclosed is a copy. What think you of it?"

"TO HENRIETTA MITCHELL—WASHINGTON CITY.

Yes! Dear Henrietta, I think of thee still,
And see thee in spirit in fountain and rill.
I hear thee in whispers, in prairie and grove,
That speak to my heart like a spirit of love.

I dream while awake of thy sweet sunny smile,
A beam from the soil of my own native isle.
I dream, while I sleep, of the isle o'er the sea
Where love would be transport and rapture with thee.

The eye and the smile and the heart touching tone,
Though far from me now are in spirit my own.
Thus fancy brings visions of love and delight
To cheer me and bless me by day and by night."

This, however, was not the first piece of poetry written by Shields. In 1837, when Canada was in rebellion against England, Shields, then my partner, felt very much inclined to join the insurgents. But Mr. Snyder and myself dissuaded him from making the attempt. Shields had, however, already written a very stirring Canadian war song, which indeed did great credit to his poetical talent.

THE WARRENS OF WARRENVILLE.

(By Harriet N. Warren Dodson, 1888, Geneva, Ill.)

We were a family of ten persons, father, mother, one brother and seven sisters. The heads of this family were Daniel Warren and Nancy Morton. Our parents were born in Massachusetts. Our father's ancestors were English, his mother's maiden name was Adams. Our mother's origin from all I can learn was Scotch, her mother's maiden name was Goddard. They were married in 1803 at Madison, New York, my father being twenty-three years of age and my mother eighteen. They remained in Madison until after the birth of two children, the eldest Philinda, and the second Louise. My father then came to Fredonia, New York. His first work there was the clearing of a large tract of land for Judge Cushing. Fredonia became their home permanently at that time where they lived until 1823, and where the six younger children were born. Their names were Julius, Sally, Harriet, Mary and Maria (twins) and Jane. In 1823 (if I remember rightly) we removed to the village of Westfield, some fifteen miles farther west and remained there until 1833. In April of that year my father started to come to the "Far West," as Illinois was then called, to seek a new home. He had many reverses in business and determined to try his fortune in a new country. Many thought him wild to venture with a family of daughters mainly, only one son, to a new untried country, at his age too, he was then fifty-three years old. My mother's health also was very poor, and some even predicted that she would never live to accomplish the long and fatiguing journey. One of my mother's brothers came quite a distance to try and dissuade her from coming. He said he thought it folly in the extreme for her to think of following her husband so far from all the comforts of civilization; and wondered she could think it her duty to come.

My father came in April, a brother-in-law came in May (Mr. Frederick Bird who had married the next oldest daughter, Louisa), the following July my brother came with Mrs. Bird, her three children and another sister. My father in the meantime had bought a claim and began building a house; he, my sister and family living in (or staying in) a small log hut until the new house was enclosed. My brother returned East again and began making preparations for the remainder of the family to come. In October not far from the 7th of the month my mother and the four younger daughters with an old neighbor to care for the team and drive them left our pleasant home and started on the perilous journey. It was a sorrowful and sad parting for my mother as well as myself. The younger sisters did not seem to realize it, the novelty was much to them, and they did not seem to understand our mother's health was one of great anxiety and fear on the part of the older members of the family, especially to the older sister and brother

remaining in the old home, to dispose of that and other property, and follow in another spring. After our brother came on with his sister and family in July he returned at once in order to get us off as soon as the new home was prepared for us. We were three weeks and three days making the journey, and many incidents of interest occurred on the route, one in which my sisters were particularly amused. It was the meeting of our mother and an old friend of her girlhood days. To hear them call each other familiarly by their maiden names was laughable indeed to them. It was a strange coincidence that two persons so far separated from each other since they were young should meet and recognize each other in a "Wayside Inn." We stayed all night in the village of Springfield, Pa., with friends by the name of Gibson whom we had seen and become acquainted with in Warfield. Our mother also found old friends in Munroe, Michigan, named Hale, who gave us a hearty welcome. We fell in company with a Vermont family named Hayse at Sandusky, Ohio, with whom we travelled the remainder of the journey. They came with us to our new wild prairie house and rested for a day or two, then went to their destination, somewhere in Sangamon County. We have never met them and only once heard from them since we parted so many long years ago. They were a nice family: father, mother and six small children. Had a nice pair of Vermont gray horses, and seemed much pleased to have fallen in company with us. The "Maumee Swamp" was a great terror to us, a narrow turnpike road with tall timber on each side and we were told still infested with wild animals, terrible roads. It would become suddenly dark about 5:00 p. m., our horses giving out, and all (only our mother and the most courageous sister as driver) obliged to walk trying to keep up with the man who must keep near the team all the time in fear of wild beasts. Surely this was no enviable situation. We were compelled to stay over night in travelling through this swamp, and such a place, it seemed fit place for crime of "deepest dye;" and weary as we all were, we could not sleep for fear; and we could only say, "Oh! that we were once again in our old home."

In Laporte, Indiana, we found one of our Westfield neighbors, whose name was Stout, who seemed pleased to see us and with whose family we remained overnight. From Laporte to Michigan City the route was not well defined. We camped over one night between these two places. It was our first experience in "Camping." Some emigrants were before us however and we saw where they built fires and cooked their meals. At the foot of a large tree near by a beautiful spring seemed to boil up. We prepared our supper, after which our mother and two sisters with the family of Mr. Hayse encamped in a small enclosure made of limbs of trees, and one sister and myself made the best sleeping place we could and remained in the wagon, the man slept under the wagon and the horses were tied at the back of each wagon, and from a trough had their allowance of oats. The next night we stayed in Michigan City, but why called a city we were puzzled to know, about half a dozen rude houses or huts more properly called comprised the town. The log houses we camped in were little better than our wagon for shelter. There were quite a number of travelers there before us, and the room we stayed in was the low roofed chamber over the only other room in the house. The floor of this room was covered

with quite a number of "Prairie Beds" so they were called, made of coarsest prairie grass. Our mother was fortunate to have a bed with her for such emergencies, although she would lie awake the greater part of the night in all such places. The following night we encamped on the lake shore between Michigan City and the Calumet. Here we built large fires as near the lake as possible. The daughters fatigued fell into sound sleep, but our mother informed us in the morning she had not slept at all. She sat and watched over us all night holding an umbrella over us most of the time, there being a drizzling rain some of the time. Such wakefulness was a source of great anxiety on our part. We knew she must have sleep or rest if she succeeded in getting through the journey. That is we thought we knew. But she seemed to have so much resolution and courage that she endured all these privations better even than the daughters so young and strong. The following day we walked nearly the whole distance. The heavy sand through which we had to travel was terrible for our little Canadian ponies; the "Vermont Greys" seemed quite as weary. Only our mother was in the wagon during the day. When we were within a few miles of the Calumet it commenced raining; the walking was very heavy in the deep sand, the horses were driven as near the lake as possible on account of the depth of the sand any distance from the shore, and we began to fear we must stay another night on the dismal shore, when there came up behind us a man with a cart and a pair of oxen attached to it, who seeing us came to the wagon and asked if some of us would accept a place in his rough vehicle, at the same time saying we were but a mile or two from the Calumet, where he himself was to remain over night. Mother hesitated a moment before accepting the kind offer. In the meantime my twin sisters had entered the cart and were quickly gone from sight. It was beginning to rain quite heavily and with our anxiety about the two sisters it seemed the next hour was the longest one we ever experienced. We at last reached the shaggy settlement at the mouth of the Calumet River. Just before we drove up in front of the only house to be seen in the dusk of the evening, a man drove past us with a pair of horses having as we afterwards learned just come from Michigan City, and seemed to be very angry because some one had disturbed his hay just on the road back of us. Said he would like to know who had pulled his hay down. The little man, driver of the cart in which the sisters had been riding stepped up to him and told him he had taken a handful or two of hay on the roadside to make a more comfortable place for two young ladies to ride in the cart he was driving. We found out the large angry man was the owner and proprietor of the place. His name was Mann, but he seemed in his anger to be a savage. My mother hearing the loud talk went at once to the big man and said whatever there was to pay for the hay she was the one to settle for it as it was taken for her daughters' benefit. He seemed to be ashamed of himself at once, and said no more, but the little man with the cart was very indignant at his conduct and would not cross the "ferry" the next morning. Said he would risk drowning himself and oxen rather than pay such a mean man to bring him across. We watched him safely across the next morning before we went on the "ferry" ourselves, because we were told the quick sand made it dangerous crossing, and this is the last we saw of the little man with the little cart and small yoke of oxen almost as speedy as

horses and well matched and well broken. We wished to have come across him again to thank him for his kindness once more, but from this simple experience we learned a rough exterior often covers a gentle heart, and that "appearances are deceitful sometimes." Mr. Mann had an Indian wife. The Mann house seemed full of people. We were marched to a small house of one room with one bed resting upon what was called a prairie bedstead, made fast to the house by two posts with cross pieces for slats. Our mother's bed was brought from the wagon, the excuse for a bed being taken from the rude bedstead, placed on the floor and three of the sisters with our traveling wraps on, camped on it and slept quite sweetly; mother and the younger sister occupying the bedstead whereon her bed had been placed. I think mother slept some towards morning, after the excitement of that wearisome day.

The following day we arrived in Chicago. One can scarcely believe when viewing that city today it could possibly be the same spot as that we found over fifty years ago. The "Mansion house" built by the elder Mr. Graves, the father of Mrs. E. H. Haddock, was nearly enclosed. To this we drove but found it impossible for us to find shelter there. We next came in sight of the old Sauganash, but seeing quite a number of Indians loitering on the steps, we gave it a wide berth. We then crossed the river and it seems strange but I cannot remember whether upon a bridge or ferry. I well remember that we crossed in the same place on a ferry in 1837, so concluded there was no bridge as early as in 1833. We found a house on Lake Street on the West Side named the "Green Tree Hotel," and asked to stay over night there, and were met with the answer "We never keep movers, we have over seventy boarders." Upon this my mother said, "Is it possible we must camp out in this far-famed city of Chicago?" The landlord upon hearing this remark came to the side of our wagon and looked in and commenced making excuses, but after taking a survey of the occupants he said, "You may get out madam, I can see you have some young ladies here and it is a long time since we have seen one." My mother from the goodness of her heart said, "Well now that we have permission to stay we will give up our place to the family travelling with us as a mother with five young children so much more needs the rest." He at once said, "You may get out we will try and find a place for you all." His name was Clock. While we well remember being so thankful for the permission to stay within the walls of a comfortable house after so many nights of anxiety and broken rest, it was nearly dark then, but we no sooner stepped out upon the platform than a gentleman came to my mother and said, "Is this not Mrs. Daniel Warren of Fredonia, N. Y.?" She then looked at the questioner and said "yes," and at once recognized Dr. Isaac Harmon, an old time acquaintance. He insisted at once she should accompany him home with our younger sister. Said he knew Mr. Clock would find good places for the three sisters remaining. My twin sisters attracted a great deal of attention among that household of boarders. They were so exactly alike that even our father could not readily tell them apart. Many eyes were turned upon them as we entered the hotel. I particularly remember Mr. Elston, who had recently come from England with his wife, placing himself upon the stairs and watching all our movements until we went to our room for the night. Mr. S. B. Cobb says he followed our wagon over to our stopping place and then and there

said, "He should have one of those girls for a wife if he lived and could get her" (and he finally did get one). The following morning was Sunday and we needed so much a day of rest, but were too anxious to reach our destination to think of taking it. We were up as soon as light and our mother was all ready, over from Dr. Harmon's when we came down, and our wagon and driver at the door. We had a great dread of the nine miles covered with water through which we must pass. Mother fainted away near three times before starting and the landlord was very kind, tried his best to cheer her. Said he could blindfold his boy ten years of age and send him across that prairie without danger. He only urged us to keep outside the main road. Only once over the route did our horses go down, and then we had ventured into the main road too far, the old beaten road was like a river all the way, running with a heavy current all across the nine miles. Another source of trouble to us, we saw quite a number of Indians going the same way, but with their ponies they kept some distance out on the prairie away from the main travel, knowing from experience probably that they were less liable to mire down. We were told they had been to Chicago to an Indian payment. They had nice blankets on their ponies. Some were lost on the prairie which our man was quite inclined to pick up, but mother said no decidedly. The man said for argument we might as well have them as others, as there were ever so many emigrant wagons not far behind us. We saw one Indian fall from his pony and his squaw watched by his side until he became sober, I suppose, as she was still watching over him until we were out of sight. Two others had what seemed a small tin pail of whiskey and were quarreling over it. We were in great fear until they were far behind us. We came as far as Brush Hill that night. Although it became so dark for a mile or more before we arrived the man had to walk and occasionally stoop down to see that we kept the road, the track was so dim. We were glad indeed when we saw a faint light in the distance, and the people occupying the same log house gave us a cordial welcome. They were Dr. Grant and his wife with one little child. They earnestly wished my mother to occupy their bed (one of those made to the side of all those primitive houses) but she declined and we camped down the same as we did at Michigan City on beds made from the coarsest material filled with prairie hay. It must have been late in the evening when our frugal supper was over. Besides our two families there were eight men from Sangamon County with teams, on their way to Chicago to get their goods which were coming by water; and as we were nearly ready to retire to one of those hay beds on the floor in came four Indians for supper, and they too found a resting place in front of the fire on the broad hearth. No sleep for poor mother dear that night, although so greatly needed. She told us next morning when she knew we were sleeping and thought from their breathing the Indians were also sleeping, she sat up and thought over her whole life and wondered what next would befall her. The next day we found ourselves on better ground, no sloughs to speak of and we travelled faster, although we had to ford the East DuPage, which was quite deep and the banks very muddy. When we were within three miles of our father's new home it was nearly dark, but Mr. Sweet, a brother-in-law of Capt. Naper, pointed out our route so plainly that we found no trouble, and about seven o'clock in the evening about the

eleventh of November, I think it was, we reached the desired haven of rest. We found our father, sisters and all well and oh! so glad to see us all. The house was not large but a tolerably good sized story and a half house, a good roof, windows in, only the outside doors yet hung. One room enclosed and one small bedroom partly enclosed and only planked up on the outside with openings between the planks wide enough to thrust your finger through, and this was the house to which we had come in the beginning of winter; and we at once exclaimed, "Father you expect to get your house in a different condition before winter fairly sets in, do you not?" and the sisters who had lived all summer in the log cabin at once exclaimed, "If you do not like this house you can go out and live awhile where we have been living;" said they thought they were in paradise now when compared to the old cabin.

Mr. Hayse and family accompanied us to this unfinished house and remained a day or two, long enough to get rested and replenish their provision chest. Our mother never seemed so happy as when contributing to others comfort and happiness, and I have often wondered when looking back at her unselfishness, after the long and tedious journey, nearly worn out with sleepless nights and anxious days, yet so thoughtful of those travelling companions. She could not rest until they were recruited and well provided with everything she could furnish for their unfinished journey. Perhaps while upon this subject of hospitality on the part of both our father and mother I will mention one case in particular which seemed to astonish all the neighbors. Judge Caton, then only a young man in Chicago, had been quite ill in the city with typhoid fever if I remember rightly. When the physician thought him well or nearly so he thought he would venture out in the country. He first came to the East DuPage River, but after a day or two of rest he started on horseback for Naperville with his gun. He was caught in a heavy rain and a relapse came. He was considered dangerously ill. My brother watched with him, also my husband who was then a young man living at Clybournville on Fox River, (they were well acquainted with Captain Naper, a grand man, one who attracted all others to him). Emigrants were constantly arriving and departing from his unpretentious home designated "hotel," and in this place filled with tired travelers, crying children and all the discomfort incident to such a place, the sick man came. When returning one morning after watching with him my brother gave such an account of his uncomfortable situation, told how he begged of him to try and have him removed to some quiet place where there were no children, he finally told him that he knew of no place but our new rude home where he could find the quiet he so desired and he could not possibly see how we could make him comfortable in such cramped quarters, but mother said "Inconvenient as it is and must be, I should say any woman that would refuse to take you in, a stranger in a strange land, under the circumstances should at least never claim the name of Christian;" and he was brought and was an inmate of our house for more than two long months. Our only living room was occupied by him. Our mother's self denial doubtless saved his life, a worthy life and one already known as honorable and successful, financially, and he still remains a staunch and true friend to all our family.

There was nothing very remarkable about our new home, but to everyone in the family it became very pleasant, and now as we look back upon our life passed under that humble roof we seem to remember only the great content we experienced. The location even now as I recall it must have been lovely, situated on rolling undulating prairie, three miles in front of us, on the east side, not a tree or shrub in sight and in the early June covered with flowers of every hue. We frequently saw deer going or coming the whole distance. Once I remember well two came from the grove just west of us, skirting the DuPage River and stood and gazed into the windows until they saw us move, then quickly moved away and we could trace them until they reached the timber three miles away east. Just north of the house stood one large oak all alone in its grandeur. On the west or back of the house there was a grove of several acres of wild crab apples and plum trees mingled with forest trees quite uniform in size, which we hoped in the near future to have trimmed up, the undergrowth removed and sown with clover, as a sort of picture ground. Naperville was some two miles south of us. A little southeast a few rods from the house was a fine spring of living water from which flowed a little rivulet and emptied itself after coursing through low meadow ground into the DuPage River. We had to cross this marsh to visit our nearest neighbor on the southwest of us. Their name was Murray. The family consisted of the father, mother, two daughters and one son. That son is now Judge Murray of Naperville, and he is the one of the family living. The mother of this family was a sister of Captain Naper, and they were hospitable pleasant neighbors. We had many pleasant visits with them. They always seemed to appreciate our coming. The greater part of the year we were obliged to cross the marsh to reach them and sometimes we would miss our footing in stepping from bog to bog and then our feet were wet and our stay could not be prolonged.

Our nearest neighbors on the north were the Fowler brothers, Hiram and Harry, an aged mother and maiden sister Amelia. They were genial pleasant people, but oh! so peculiar. Dickens alone could portray such men and women, they were something of the Peggotty order, large hearts, noble qualifications but little refinement and culture, but we sisters were fond of going there. They always gave us a hearty welcome. Their land joined ours. One of our social affairs in a public place was attending a wedding at the house of Captain Naper with the Fowler brothers. Mrs. Naper's sister, I think it was, was to be married to a Mr. King, and our invitation came by Capt. Naper to the Fowlers, saying: "We would like to have you bring Mr. Warren's daughters." We accepted of course anything for a novelty in our quiet life. The wedding was on Sunday and our conveyance a cart drawn by oxen. We had never been out anywhere at that time. I think it was in the early part of winter after our arrival in November. I know one of the brothers kept saying, "You must not think we are nearing the city (when coming in sight of a cluster of log houses) this is only the suburbs," but we were actually then driving up to the tavern door, the residence of the hospitable Capt. Joseph Naper, and such a wedding. The bride was actually scrubbing the floor of the only room in the house where she was to stand when the ceremony was to be performed. It seemed we were the first guests to arrive, but soon all was in order. The bride made her

appearance in a dress of the common veiling material, a kind of cinnamon brown. She was a sensible looking woman about thirty or thirty-five years of age. Her intended also looked about that age or a little older, an affair of little romance surely, but sensible I should judge as I look back upon it now. From introductions to various persons on that day however came a little romance if it could be called such, and to me. I hope it will not seem egotistical or vain for me to describe it or try to. There was far too much of the ludicrous to seem to have much of romance in it. I think it was in June or July following the wedding (I know my oldest sister was here and she came in the spring) two gentlemen called at our house, the older one a Mr. Sweet, a brother-in-law of Capt. Naper, on pretense of business. The younger one a Mr. King, a young brother of the Mr. King, bridegroom of the previous winter. It seems from all we could learn Mr. Sweet had persuaded this young man to call. We had met him at the wedding but had entirely forgotten him; and he it seems on business intent remained after Mr. Sweet left. We four sisters were in the room all busy sewing or reading when they came. Mr. King arose directly and walked over to where I sat and said something like this (I may not remember the precise words) "Can I see you alone for a few minutes Miss Warren?" I was too surprised to answer him as I should have done of course. As nearly as I can remember my answer was this, "I am not prepared to answer you such a question." I should have said no at once, but it seemed the answer I gave him had the same effect, for he rushed for his hat at once and out the door he went, so very suddenly that we seemed to have lost our civility altogether; for our mother seeing him go, and knowing nothing of what had occurred, stepped at once to the door and asked him if he would not stop and take dinner with us. He declined decidedly. The sisters were too convulsed with laughter to conceal their merriment, which the young man evidently saw, and he felt he had been a little hasty probably. The affair would not have seemed quite so ridiculous if we had only had some place where a private conversation could have been possible, but we were sitting in the only enclosed room in the house, excepting our father's and mother's room and the sisters' sleeping apartment above. I really did not hear the last of this for a long time, and was really annoyed for the teasing.

In the early spring of 1834, our brother-in-law, Mr. Bird, had been over to Fox River in the neighborhood of Geneva (or where Geneva now is). He was delighted with the appearance and he was anxious to get into a home of his own in time to put in a crop. I think it must have been as early as the last of March that my sister, Bird, with another of the Fowler brothers who had recently come on from the East, accompanied by Mr. Sidney Abel (who was afterwards Chicago's first postmaster) and myself started in a lumber wagon for a first visit to the Fox River region. There were no laid out roads. We followed the Indian trail to the river, where Aurora now stands. I think our wagon must have been the first ever going through the big woods timber, at that time a dense forest, 9 miles long and 3 miles wide, skirting the east bank of the river from near where Aurora now is to Batavia. The men were obliged to remove logs frequently on the way that our wagon might keep on this trail. Of course the Indians traveled on ponies and in single file, which left a deep black path, and this we followed until we

reached the bank of the river, which we sisters greatly feared to cross, but Mr. Bird insisted we could go even with our high lumber wagon where an Indian pony could. As we came to the east bank which was bordered with tall trees on either side and looked dark and deep we were greatly alarmed to find we were going into the river at once. We supposed we were to stand on the bank and see Mr. Bird drive over first before venturing to take us; but he gave us no time to urge the matter but plunged in at once; said he could see the trail on the other side and that there was no danger; but our hearts were in our throats until we were safely across. The first object to meet our view was the large wigwam of the Indian Chief "Wabaunse" surrounded by smaller ones. This lodge of the old Chief was remarkable for its neatness. There were no Indians anywhere to be seen, and we sisters did not regret it. The old fear had not altogether vanished from our mind. Mr. Bird said they were probably all in the woods making sugar as all their cooking implements had also disappeared. Not as much as a white man was anywhere to be found so far. We came up as far as where Geneva now stands on the west bank of the river and were charmed with the lovely landscape all the way. We were obliged to hurry back as we were to return by another route. We re-crossed the river a little north of where Batavia is now, but this time we insisted we would not go until the team had gone over once, and it was quite frightful enough then as we sisters stood up on the high spring seat, Mr. Fowler and Abel holding us by the hand sufficiently to keep us from falling, and then the water was so deep as to come over the seat where we stood and dampen the soles of our boots. On the east side near where the depot now is, of Burlington & Quincy road, we found the first house and then had a dinner—bacon, cornbread and coffee without cream or sugar, but we were hungry enough to relish it and were made quite welcome. They were Indian people and their name Paine. Mr. Bird with my sister and family settled that same year about a half mile north of the village of Geneva on a small farm, but in the course of two or three years moved again still farther west to Rock River. In fact this sister was the great pioneer of all the family, passing through more hardships in the various homes she helped to build than anyone I know of in this country. The year they went out to Rock River they had to go to Ottawa for flour, the only mill within one hundred or more miles. In fact her life was a remarkable one in many respects. Married when only eighteen years old. The mother of seven children, all now living. A widow at 36 or when married 18 years. She remained a widow 18 years, then married again to a man named Warren, taking again her maiden name. Moved back to her native state. Was left again a widow in less than 18 years. Returned again to Illinois where she made her home with her daughter, Mrs. Talbot, until her death which occurred May 10, 1883, in Chicago.

My oldest sister had a heart history which of course I cannot give, I was too young to fully realize it. She was engaged to be married to a Mr. Sage, who died in the South where he had gone with a young friend to better their fortunes. Staying too late in the spring before starting north they both took the fever and died. It was a serious blow to my sister, but after being in the West a number of years she married Mr. Alva Fowler, a grand and good man, and her declining years are peaceful and quiet and comparatively happy. She was like another mother

to the younger daughters, planning and making most of our dresses, teaching us how to sew, as well as doing many other kinds of work. I have spoken of my second sister first, but will try and tell of the other members of the family as they come by their respective ages.

Sister Philinda Fowler is the oldest, sister Louisa Bird Warren the next, my brother Julius comes next, he has ever been a good son and brother, kind in all the relations of life, unselfish in a large degree. He should have been a married man with a good wife to be a solace to him in his declining years, but he has remained a bachelor. He used often to say he must see all his sisters well married and settled in life before he could take so important a step for himself; and after they were gone from the old home he said, "I looked about years ago to see who I would have and now the time has come when I have to look around to see who will have me, so I think I had on the whole better remain as I am." He no doubt felt more keenly than any other member of the family the breaking off of the old associations in our Eastern home. He was of the age when the social element in any one of his genial temperament was at its height, and he was popular with all his young acquaintances; but he soon with us all felt the West was his home and enjoyed it more and more until our mother died, since which he seems lost and lonely enough.

My sister Sally married Mr. A. C. Carpenter in June, 1836. She came West before the other members of the family came in November. She came with our married sister and children. Her vocation was teaching. She was assistant teacher in one of the first schools inaugurated in Chicago. In fact I may say the first well organized school. I think it must have been the very first fall we came she was solicited to go to the city. She was one of the three first teachers I remember. She was engaged to be married to a Dr. Vandervogart, the principal of the school in 1834. I think he was quite sick in the city with typhoid fever and when well enough came out to my father's, was taken worse and died at our house, either in '34 or '35. She, too, has had many sorrows to bear. Their oldest son, Ashley, died while in the army. He was a very promising young man, and his mother's idol. The family have never fully recovered from this great loss. This sister is now a widow and resides in Aurora, Illinois. She has three children living, Mrs. Shel Walker with whom she now makes her home, an only son, Will, now living on his farm a few miles east of Batavia, and Mrs. William Hollister also living on a farm in the same vicinity.

I am the fourth and next sister according to age. Mr. Dodson and myself were married on the 2d day of February, 1837 (47 years ago today, the 2d day of February, 1884) in the sitting room of this old first home we occupied when coming to this State over fifty years ago. Sister Carpenter and myself were the only daughters married in this old home. Mr. Dodson was then a contractor on the Illinois and Michigan Canal. We went to his place a few miles from Lockport to live after a few weeks in Chicago at the old Saginaw Hotel, kept by our old friends Mr. and Mrs. John Murphy. My first experience in house-keeping was in a newly built log house upon the canal. I was nineteen years of age the July previous, and thought myself quite a competent housekeeper, but when I came to depend wholly upon myself without mother to ask questions of, I found myself deficient in many things when depending upon my own judgment. In the following year (June) Mr.

Dodson sold his contract and we moved to Chicago where we commenced living in a new house on Lake Street on the West Side. We remained there until the winter of '38 when our first children (twin sons) Charles and Julius were born. The great financial crisis was the cause of our leaving the city. If Mr. Dodson had not endorsed other men's papers we undoubtedly would be living in the city today, but the property at that time sold at ruinous prices, and what he then let go to satisfy the bank when he had signed a note for an old friend for less than thirty thousand dollars, would now be worth millions. It is only the history of hundreds of others. At the time men supposed to be millionaires one day were bankrupt the next, many now remaining in Chicago similarly situated, put their property out of their hands for a certain number of years, and are now immensely rich. My husband was advised to do the same and after all the papers were drawn up and his lawyer, Mr. Morris, assured him it was a legal transaction he gave it all up and turned over everything to pay for that which he never had, but which the law made imperative. Since that time our home has either been principally in Geneva or on our farm a mile below. The farm life was new to me and in many ways distasteful to me, owing doubtless to inexperience principally, although quite deficient in all modern improvements which seem to make the farmers of the present day much more comfortable and happy. We had seven children, five of whom are still living. One of our twin boys was scalded to death only a week before the birth of our oldest daughter, in ten days he would have been three years old. It was a fearful trial to pass through and made me feel at the time that any mother ought and could be reconciled to the death of a child when dying from natural causes; but when our second boy died from measles it was just the same terrible loss, even if the going was less fearful. Mr. Dodson has since our marriage had the contract for removing the Indians twice to their reservations beyond the Mississippi River; twice has he been to California to recruit his fortunes. He made money as contractor when young. He had two or three contracts on the Northwestern Railroad. He built the piers and abutments across the river here (in Geneva) upon which the railroad bridge is and which is now being made into a double track; also those upon which the bridge near Sterling, Illinois, now is. He also had the first harbor contract in Chicago, and one or two stage contracts, so that he has been an active business man the greater part of his life; and now we are quietly living alone in our plain simple way in Geneva, our children all away, and I sometimes wonder if on life's record our names shall be placed, where—under success or failure?

Our twin sisters were both married on the 27th of October; sister Maria to S. B. Cobb in 1840, and sister Mary to Jerome Beecher in 1842. The history of one has been that of both so far as a very prosperous life in financial affairs is concerned. In their declining years they seem to be very happy. Sister Cobb has had six children, three living and three gone. Their eldest son, Walter, was taken when he seemed to be just entering upon the responsibilities of manhood; he seemed to be so necessary to the mother although loved just as tenderly by his father. No one may know until they know by experience what that father and mother felt in giving up their only son. Their little daughter too was to me one of the most beautiful children I have ever

known, the other little one died when quite young, but to the parents' heart the loss is terrible in every case. They have three daughters living, all have beautiful homes, are very wealthy and seemingly happy; few, very few such palatial homes are possessed by parents and children too. Sister Beecher never had children of her own, but she is entitled to be called a mother in Israel. Her life seems to be filled with the sweetest charities. They have two adopted daughters whom she loves and cares for more tenderly than many care for their own. I am sure not only they but numberless others rise up to bless her. Not often do we see such large means accompanied by such large and numerous charities as she and Mr. Beecher bestow upon the worthy everywhere.

Our youngest sister, Jane, was married to Mr. W. B. Curtis, April 8, 1850, upon our father's seventieth birthday (his oldest granddaughter was also married on the same day to Dr. Woodworth). Their home was in Peoria in this State. Mr. Curtis was an excellent man; he was also a fine business man; was for many years president of the First National Bank of that city. He was a kind husband and father and always respected as a good citizen and for his splendid business qualifications. He died several years ago from the effects of brain fever, brought on by the great financial struggle in New York about the time of the "Black Friday." He was quite a speculator on Wall Street. Sometimes made large sums in a day and again lost.

My sisters and myself were very congenial in all our tastes. When all together in the old home two sisters did house work one week and washing and ironing the next, and sister Jane and I were always together in our allotted tasks, alternating with the twin sisters. After Mr. Curtis' death she returned to Warrenville where she died August 26th, at the home of her son-in-law, W. J. Manning. Although the youngest of the seven sisters, she was the first to go. She is buried by the side of her husband and children in Peoria. She had four children, two of whom are now living, Mrs. Manning and Nancy, named for her grandmother Warren. She also adopted a daughter named for herself (now living also). At her funeral services the clergyman said, "Her character and life as they exist in your memory are the most eloquent tribute she can have." This was true, and a fitting eulogy for one who was beloved by all who knew her.

I think it must have been early in 1838 that the first home was disposed of, and the family remaining removed to the little village of Warrenville, where my brother had previously built a saw mill and a public house.

I must mention here another family of Warrens who came West a few years after we came, an uncle (brother of my father) with his family. Uncle and aunt are both dead. Their bodies lie in the little cemetery at Warrenville. Other and older members of the family are in Oregon, on or near the Pacific Ocean. The daughter, Mrs. Holmes, was for many years teacher of the Ladies' Seminary in Warrenville. Nearly every sister in our family has had children in her school so long as she remained principal of the school. She was a thorough teacher especially in the rudiments, never allowed one to take up new studies until the old were thoroughly understood. She was married to Mr. Holmes while still engaged in teaching, and all felt sad to see her go from the place where she had been so long the leading spirit; but sadder still

was her return, a widow in less than two months after her marriage. Her husband died of cholera, and she came and once more resumed her place in the old home. Was again at the head of the school; but now for many years has been in Rockford, Illinois. She still keeps to her old vocation, teaching, only private school, having a few young ladies under her care.

I have not spoken of some incidents occurring in our first home, which should have been noticed earlier. Our brother-in-law, Mr. Carpenter, sold goods in Warrenville from a little store built by himself soon after or about the time of his marriage to my sister. As I think it over I think it must have been previous to his marriage. He sold the first dry goods in the place. The little incident of which I was going to speak occurred while he was a young man as my sister was still teaching in the city, and one of my twin sisters and myself were invited to a wedding by him because he loaned a saddle to the young man who was to be married. The invitation was "Come over and see us married and bring your girls along if you like; you are so kind to let me have the saddle, it would have been hard to ride all the way to Chicago bare-back, I have to go in to get the license." Poor man he could not get the license the first time, had to go in the second time because the girl was not of age and he had to take the written consent of the parents. We arrived even before the poor fellow had returned from his second trip. The guests were all assembled and the groom had to go to a log stable to dress himself. The ceremony and supper had to wait quite a while for him to complete his toilet. The bride was overhead making hers when he came, and soon made her appearance, coming down a ladder. She was quite a pretty young Hoosier girl. It was cold and the young man seemed nearly perished when he finally came in. It took him several minutes to pull on his gloves, and then Squire Allen of Naperville tied the knot. We had a palatable supper, with something passed around called "black strap" for drink, which we were told was made of whiskey and molasses; but which we declined taking. Mr. John Van Nortwick, Sr., had two sisters there, who had their invitations much the same way we had ours, the young man bringing them having in some way obliged the bridegroom. This wedding was in a log house with only one room, two beds in the room, supper cooked upon the hearth of the broad fireplace. A long table composed of two wide boards about ten or twelve feet long resting on something like saw horses at each end only higher. The place was at the head of the big woods timber, is still fresh in my memory, although I cannot remember the names of the people married.

One other little experience and then I will bring to a close this rambling sketch. The first summer here we asked one day for the ponies and wagon of our father to go and call upon a girl whom we had heard had recently come from the East to keep house for her two bachelor brothers. Our father was a little reluctant to let us have the horses, knowing how little experience we had about driving. We had already invited Ruth Murray and Amelia Fowler to go with us in case we could secure the team. My twin sisters and myself with these two neighboring girls started on a visit to Miss Lucinda Gerry (now Mrs. Wheaton) for whose husband the place now called Wheaton, about eight miles east was named. It was only about three miles north of us but

we were late getting off. Father said we had better leave the harness on the horses as he feared we could not get it on right again, but we were not quite obedient to his orders. We found Miss Gerry in the field helping her brothers put in their corn, but nothing would do but we must unharness those horses, as she said, "I guess a girl going through the Indian war can unharness a pair of horses," so we of course allowed her to do as she pleased. Such a time though as we did have when we attempted again to replace that harness made us wish we had regarded more faithfully our father's wishes. I think nearly every buckle must have been undone. We were so long getting the harness on, if I remember rightly, the brothers had to be called to our assistance, although they were evidently not intending to come in from the field while we remained. I presume they did not care to be seen in their coarse garments, bare feet and smutty faces. The first move by our hostess after the harness was removed was to wash the floor while we were loitering around the outside admiring the scenery, the next move to put on her shoes and stockings, comb her hair, dress herself neatly, all the time talking and visiting except the short time she was dressing. A brisk fire was made, the tin oven brought on and such a marvelous supper was set before us. It was all so good, such a nice variety, it seemed like magic. Splendid biscuits, a nice custard pie, cake, some kind of stewed fruit, probably brought dried from her eastern home, honey, etc., and all done by her own hands, most of the time chatting and visiting. She would not allow us to help her, and now as I look back and think of her and all she accomplished on that short afternoon fifty years ago, it seems like a dream. I think she is still living in Wheaton, but this was the only visit to her while I remained at home. She must have been an energetic woman.

And now I must close. Perhaps few instances can be found where seven sisters from one family have been as pleasantly situated, all so far as the outside world judges, marrying respectably, all having comfortable homes and surroundings, some luxurious homes, but the "inner life" may not be written. It is well that it may not perhaps. For myself, I am far from realizing the hopes and aspirations of my youth.

Through memory's half forgotten realm
 O'er the half Century's track,
 Wishing some worthiness to find
 I venture to look back;
 But I find only—the commonplace—
 The uneventful life—
 The sad regrets, the toil, the strife—
 Incident to all life in every sphere.
 Yet I will not complain—my life, no doubt,
 Has been the best for me
 As somewhere in a "higher life"
 I'll clearly see.

The vase where the roses of life were distilled,
 For me—is now broken in twain.
 The fragments I have, they are precious to me—
 While the scent of the roses—remain.

POLLY SUMNER CHAPTER, DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, QUINCY, ILLINOIS.

(Quincy Historical Papers of 1912. Early Quincy 1822-1830.)

Marquette's journal tells us that in thirty days, July 17, 1673, he having reached the mouth of the Arkansas, and beyond, began his return journey and again entered the Mississippi. While no mention is made in his journal to this locality as it does to Alton and Rock Island, yet on his chart there is drawn high land, at just the place on the river where our bluffs appear. In 1821 our now beautiful gem city was inhabited by Indians, the mink, muskrat, otter, raccoon, wolf, fox and beaver were running wild through our present streets. Daniel Wood, son of Governor Wood who is with us now, remembers his mother telling him one day when she was alone in the log cabin, she saw faces of Indians looking in at the window. The chief entered and said "want honey;" she told him there was none. He said, "If white squaw does not give me honey I will take her scalp." While he was preparing, she ran out. When the Indians left they left us as memorials of their existence the mounds upon our bluffs and many Indian relics have been found. Along the bank that is now known as Broadway to Delaware there were trees, this was the landing for boats and the trees were convenient to tie to. The city at that time was equally divided between prairie and timber. East of 18th Street all was prairie except a short thicket which ran eastward a few blocks from the Alstyne quarter near Chestnut and a small grove of trees at what is now known as Highland park. Between 12th and 18th, John Moore's addition, a small northwest corner was prairie. On the south side of Gov. Wood's large field about 18th and Jefferson was about twenty acres of heavy timber, part of which still stands. Droulard's between 8th and 12th was cut up by ravines. Robert Tillson's lot was part brush and prairie (corner 5th and Jersey). On Third Street was a thick timber and a pretty little pond. A noted resort for wild ducks, its western limit reaching nearly to the bluffs, covering three acres. Daniel Wood remembers well that pond. In 1840 signs of this little lake existed. Long before this the timber had disappeared and the pond was drained in cutting York Street through the bluff. The square, Maine and Fourth was prairie, just north of Hampshire, Vermont and Fifth along the southern edge of Jefferson Square, one-third was prairie and that portion which was afterwards a burying ground. The highest peak of the bluffs above low water mark was 126 feet and the highest peak was known as Mount Pisgah. It stood in the south side of Maine near Second. It is said that the lads and lassies pledged their troths in the gloaming on top of Mt. Pisgah at sunset and by moonlight. This reminds me of a romance where one lawyer fell in love with his wife at the bottom of Mt. Pisgah instead of the top. The lawyer was passing Mt. Pisgah when from the heights he saw something rolling down the Mount and

the piece of humanity stopped at his feet. He picked the almost unconscious child up, carried her to his home. Her family were Mormons and lived on the top of the Mount. They were very poor and had a large family. Of course the little girl was a beauty. He educated her, sent her to Vassar, where she finished her education. They married, he lived a few years, then she taught music. She was the second wife of Judge Skinner.

Gov. Wood was the first settler in Quincy; in 1819 he met Williard Keyes from Vermont, who, like himself, was young, adventurous, looking out for a place to settle down for life. They first established themselves in all the royal independence of a log cabin in the bottom, 30 miles south of where Quincy is. Lived there three years. They saw a map while there showing a bluff bank, east side of the river, the only point north of the Illinois for a town that would always be above overflow. They borrowed horses, stopping where now is Camp Point, the spot where their park now is. In 1821, John Wood secured a section of land adjoining his residence (12th and State), told Keyes what he had done. Keyes borrowed a horse and came and purchased 160 acres for sixty dollars. Had \$20 and borrowed the rest. On the 8th of December, 1822, Wood was at home. His house stood in the southeast corner of Front and Delaware Streets. In March, 1823, Jeremiah Rose, wife and daughter came to Wood's cabin and kept house, the proprietor boarding with them. At this time Keyes purchased half section north of Broadway, west of 12th. In the Spring of 1828, Williard Keyes came to Quincy. He built a cabin larger than Wood's, located corner 1st and Vermont. They were all squatters in those days. The only newspaper in the country was published in Edwardsville. John Wood led the movement, which after a few years resulted in the formation of Adams County. The Keyes' cabin became the temple of justice, where the first court was held and was used for religious meetings and hotel. In 1824 there were only three cabins, Wood, Keys, Droulard's. Droulard was a Frenchman, a shoemaker and served in the army. He took 160 acres in the center of the city on which Keyes had settled, bounded by 12th and Broadway, north and east. West from Maine to Hampshire between Kentucky and York Streets he erected a cabin northwest corner of Jersey and 8th, west of the gas works. These three cabins were the only buildings in the place in 1824. This season Asa Tyrer (who had visited the place before) came and built a cabin, blacksmith shop a mile southwest, called Watson Springs, named after his son-in-law Ben Watson. Dr. Thomas Baker was the first doctor in the country. He came in the summer, lived two miles south, only remaining a few months; at this time the pioneers of Quincy were Wood, Keyes, Droulard, Rose. The census in 1825 gave the population of Adams and Hancock country 192. They were all living on land that had no obtained title, mail coming once a month, the only news they had from the outside world was from an occasional traveler. They were pumped of all their news. The time soon came for this community to play a very important part in shaping the destiny of Illinois. During this year (1824) there came up and was settled the most exciting and vital political and moral struggle that ever affected the social and political interest in the State of Illinois. Six years before Illinois had been admitted to the Union; with a free Constitution. The early settlers were from the South. They had

brought here and owned slaves. There was but four voters in Quincy and what is now Adams County and they were in earnest. The county which was then Pike was canvassed, voters turned enmasse on Sunday morning (day before election) nearly fifty gathered here at the Bluffs (as Quincy was then called), rode to Atlas, 40 miles south, swimming the creeks and plumped their votes the next day. One hundred votes. Last ninety-seven were for no convention (or a free State), three for the convention. The "no convention" ticket swept the State, 1,800 majority and Illinois was a free State. Eighteen hundred twenty-five was a notable year in the history of Quincy. It was the natal year of the city and county. Three commissioners laid out the town and fixed the county seat. They wanted it as near geographical center as possible. Luck, strategy and the kind treatment received at the bluffs changed their minds. Wood was in St. Louis, Keyes offered to guide them, for some reason he was left at home. After floundering through briars, bogs, swamps and quicksands of Mile Creek they retraced their steps. When dusk came on they found shelter in the cabin of John Wood and Jeremiah Rose. Had fine supper, comfort and sleep, hearty breakfast. They with all the people of the place passed over broken bluffs, grassy woods to the narrow prairie ridge that is now Washington Square. They halted about the spot where is now the bronze statue of John Wood, here driving a stake in the ground they officially announced that the northwest quarter of section two, township two, range nine west, was from that hour the county seat of Adams County. Then reverently placing their hands upon the top of the stake they christened the place Quincy. John Quincy Adams had been inaugurated President that 4th of March, 1825, first election. They had many a hard fought battle to preserve Washington Park from desecration. First butcher in Quincy spiked a wooden bar to a tree, hung his meat there. Fifth and Maine running half way to Fourth, bought for \$30.00. The corner where now stands the Newcomb hotel brought the highest. Rufus Brown, first hotel keeper paid \$27.00, the highest price paid for property around the square. In 1827 when Quincy was two years old there was a court house, hotel, store, shoemaker on the edge of town, doctor a mile away, a school was opened late in the year in the court house, teacher was Rev. Jabez Porter, Presbyterian from Massachusetts, graduated in England, preached regularly in the court house. The court house was on 5th between Maine and Hampshire in the middle of the block. In 1835 the court house was burned. Back of the court house was a grove of hazel and small trees. The square was a rough hazel patch. Where the cathedral stands was a corn field in which was a blacksmith shop; only house on that side of the street was Droulard's second house. Double cabin (where the Bushnell house now stands) corner 4th and Maine a two story frame, known as the old post office building, the first frame structure of the town built in 1829. In its chimney the first bricks (4th and Maine) burned, all preserved in the wall of the five story brick building (Newcomb). In 1830 where the public library stands was organized a church in the log house of Peter Felt. First called Presbyterian church. October 10, 1833, name was changed to First Congregational Church. After holding services in houses, a room twenty feet square over the residence of Levi Wells, corner Maine and 5th, a chapel was built on Fourth Street between Maine and Jersey.

This building was known as the Lord's barn. Seats and pulpit, plank boards. *Bell, paid for by the women, was suspended in the rear of the chapel on poles. Rope entering the chapel through a hole in the wall and the single stove on the preacher's platform. From time to time they lengthened the building. (It resembled a rope walk more than a place of worship.) Father Turner was the preacher over 7 years. In 1834 H. Snow selected tunes for the services, used a large bass viol, sat in front of the platform. In 1828 there was little to attract settling in Quincy. Contained only two hundred people, a dozen log cabins along the river shore with the exception of the Keyes' cabin, foot of Vermont, in the fall he added a frame addition, a ten or twelve feet square room. The second frame structure in the place was Wood's cabin, foot of Delaware. It was the first cabin built. Had some log extensions. On the hill around the public square were cabins. As yet there had been no frame or brick house built. Place was little more than a steamboat landing for the boats that passed occasionally from Galena and St. Louis. Often passed without stopping, having no freight or passengers. There were two stores, Anderson and Tillson & Holmes sold everything needed. Took as pay anything in trade. There were half dozen groceries which dealt with one single article. (Staple did a better business than the general stores.)

This year, 1829, came the second doctor, S. W. Rogers and the first lawyer, Archibald Williams. A saddler, L. B. Allen, shop on south Maine, same side Michael Mart's (tailor) and Justice Ensign's hatter shop. Front street near York, tannery of Ira Preece and Jephtha Lambkin's pottery. Droulard's cabin and shoemaker's shop near where the gas works are now. These are the names of those who came to Quincy before the year 1829: Reuben Doty, W. P. Harrison, Geo. Chapman, Dr. S. W. Rogers, S. Meachen, Archibald Williams, Thaddeus Pond, J. H. Anderson, Thos. Crank, Wm. Kirkpatrick, W. H. Wade, Peter Ore, James Thomas. In 1829 among the public notices was this "the manumission of some slaves by John S. Stern and Jas. Anderson." (Had been brought here from Kentucky by their masters) and under the existing laws of the State it was requisite their masters must give bonds for their conduct, and that they should not become dependent upon the public for support and must make official announcement of this, which was done by posters and hand bills, there being no papers published. At this time the village depended upon itself for its enlightenment and the quaint characters who strayed in from the country were always loafing about the stores and groceries. One night the inhabitants were awakened at midnight by a racket in the streets. There were two men, leading officials (county), parading about the square with a candle box in which were lighted candles, shouting, "Rouse ye neighbors, behold us, we are the light of the world." Another oddity used to parade on his big horse Boleway and announce in his set speech "I'm Mike Dodd in a minute. I'm built from the ground up like a muskrat house and I don't beg potatoes of a negro." At the writing of this paper we have with us Daniel Wood, first white child born in Quincy, 1829, son of Gov. Wood. He remembers well the log cabin and tells many stories about the Indians. There are descendants of Willard Keyes with us and descendants of Robert Tillson, 1829. The writer of this paper knew Gov. Wood

well. Her father, Jas. Juett Langdon owned the Whig and Republican during the war and many years after.

KATE LOUISA LANGDON,
1601 Hampshire St.

HOUSEKEEPING IN QUINCY IN THE THIRTIES.

Let us turn time backward this afternoon about 80 years and spend the day in Quincy, Illinois, that little settlement far off in the wilderness to which some adventurous spirits were then turning. Some have come from their bleak little homes in New England, others from regions farther south and west, impelled by that pioneer spirit which is always reaching out for larger fields and better opportunities.

I will invite you first to make a call at the S. W. corner of 4th and Maine Sts. at the log cabin of my grandfather, Col. Peter Felt. Family tradition has it that Grandfather Felt built the first frame house in Quincy on this site, but on this date, Saturday, December 4, 1830, they were still occupying their log cabin. It is to be supposed that this cabin was built like others in Quincy and vicinity, of logs, with puncheon floor (that is logs split and laid flat side up) chimney and fire place made of rough stones chinked with mud or of sticks and mud. There was generally a long wooden latch on the inside of the door and reaching across it, to which a string was attached and passed out through a hole above. With this string the catch could easily be raised from the outside, while to securely lock the door from the inside, it was only necessary after latching it to pull in the string. There was sometimes a loft or attic above but often the one room served for parlor, library, dining room and kitchen and bedroom, privacy sometimes being secured by partitions of cotton cloth. Some one I once knew hated portieres to the end of her life as they reminded her of the times when cabins were partitioned off with quilts. Brick and mortar, lath, shingles and plaster and paint began to be known in 1828 but log cabins were still fashionable in 1830. The settlers by this time began to bring their possessions with them and in the cabin to which I invite you there were colonial mirrors and silver, furniture and pewter brought down the Erie Canal to the Ohio River, thence up the Mississippi to Quincy. The pretty 17-year-old girl with the very blue eyes who opens the door is my mother and she hospitably seats us around the roaring fire in the fireplace. This is to be the winter of the deep snow, three feet on a level but as yet it has not fallen, though the great blazing back log on the shining andirons feels very acceptable after the wintry air outside. Perhaps this morning as sometimes happened, though the fire was carefully banked in the fireplace and covered with ashes the night before, it was found to be out in the morning. It was some years after this, way off in Vienna and the South German States that matches were invented and became a commercial article. What then is to be done? Sometimes two pieces of flint were struck together till they made a spark and sometimes a gun was fired into tinder. Sometime afterwards my mother was nearly a victim when my father had attempted to make a fire in this way. The easiest way when neighbors were near was to run over and borrow a shovel full of coals. We listen to an account of their long journey by water in company with the family of John P. Robbins which took several weeks;

long enough for acquaintances she made on board to become something dearer had mother so willed. Then finding that in the afternoon there is to be a gathering there to organize a church under the leadership of the Rev. Asa Turner, we take our leave. We learn afterwards that the following persons met and formed the first church in Quincy: Amos Bancroft, Adelia Ames Bancroft (these were the first people to be married in Quincy), Rufus Brown, Nancy Brown, Peter Felt, Mary Felt, Henry H. Snow, Lucy K. Snow, Rose Martha Turner, Daniel Henderson, Hans Patten. Of these it was said four were Presbyterians, three Congregationalists, three Baptists and five from the world, which is thought to have meant of miscellaneous beliefs. I am disappointed not to show you the very pewter cups which were used as communion cups that day and also afterwards at the formation of the Baptist church here and two churches at Columbus. One of the resolutions made by the church on this day was that total abstinence was an indispensable term of admission to the church and 18 months later it was said, "The great majority of our citizens can now come to Quincy and do business without whiskey." The beautiful young woman with the pink cheeks and brown eyes and curls who signed her name as Martha Turner was the bride of the Rev. Asa Turner who had just been sent out from the east by a Home Missionary Society. In those days it meant quite as much of a sacrifice to go to Quincy as in these days to go to India. It was going out into the great unknown, communication with those left behind almost cut off. There were eastern mails twice a week by stage which did not always arrive. Letters sent over 400 miles cost 25c paid by the receiver. If on two, three or more pieces of paper the postage was doubled or trebled accordingly. Letters from the seaboard cities and from Washington were generally about two weeks in transit. Postage being so high and required to be paid in silver it was not unusual for letters to lie in the post office for a long time before the needed money could be secured with which to obtain their deliverance.

So when the beautiful Miss Martha Bull (cousin of the Quincy family of that name) cast in her lot with the poor young home missionary leaving her teaching in Boston, she entered upon a life of hardship and self denial which however probably brought its own reward. Shall we let her tell us of some of her house keeping experiences in extracts from a letter she wrote to her sister in Hartford, Dec. 9, 1830. The house in which they lived is still standing on 4th near York.

"My dear Sister: A letter from you about two weeks since is all I have had since I left Hartford. I recollect that it takes four weeks for a letter from here and about five for an answer. I find matter enough to fill one of the large sheets weekly. Two weeks we have been keeping house and I find little time for anything else. I clamber up two flights of stairs from the kitchen to my room in the second story. I am powerfully weak after having toted pots, kettles, etc. Dec. 22; Our goods arrived here on the 10th of this month. We had almost given them up as lost as we heard that a steamboat lately sank in the Mississippi. We have but one room for sitting room, bedroom, study, kitchen and dairy. We have in it our best bureau, 2 tables, 3 trunks, 6 chairs, 2 medicine chests, 2 writing desks, cupboard in one corner and several other pieces of furniture besides our bedstead. We have to have a study by spring. The thermometer stood yesterday at 9 below zero. We can keep nothing

from freezing. I have thought some of our good Lehigh stoves today. We have plenty of wood which costs nothing but the drawing of it from the woods as Mr. Turner cuts it himself, but still it is not the comfortable heat of Lehigh. I have a cow which gives a fine quality of rich milk and should be very happy just to put down a few pounds of butter for you. You smile at the idea of my making butter, but such is the fact. It is considerable trouble to take care of milk particularly when frozen and I cannot prevent this now. Perhaps you would like to know how I get along in housekeeping. Why pretty much as you would expect in one so little acquainted with domestic concerns. We live mostly on wheat batter cakes and corn dodgers. Now and then I bake a pone or loaf of bread. But this I do not much like. You and mother will decide that it requires some skill to make good bread of bad flour. Now and then I make milk toast and we have very good coffee and tea. I wish you could see how comfortably we are situated. It would do you good. So different from what we expected. Our log cabin has proved to be a frame house nicely (that is comparatively) fitted up for us. But still very different from the houses in which we have been used to live." Her husband adds, "She makes very good batter cakes, tea, coffee and butter and that is all we live on except now and then a slice of bread. She has made $3\frac{1}{2}$ pounds of butter, a good heap of pumpkin pies and some powerful good cake. On the whole she is a very good wife worth all her transportation and I consider her a right smart woman. Our honeymoon still lasts and I see no probability of failure for we have great chance of bees here." She makes suggestions about Hartford young ladies coming to Quincy to do good in various occupations and assures them they will make no sacrifice as to society. We have as good as that to which they have been accustomed. Sometime in the spring of 1831 probably a cousin of Rev. Asa Turner, Ebenezer Turner, having attained his majority, left his father's little stony farm in Maine and struck out for something better. On reaching Quincy he found employment with Rev. Asa Turner at first for \$11 a month. Being sent on a business errand one day to Deacon Peter Felt's, the door was opened by his daughter. From this first meeting affairs went on till the spring of 1833 when my parents were married by Judge Snow and there was a hanging of the crane in their own little cabin north of Quincy. We will continue our ramble by paying our first visit to the pioneer store keeper of Quincy, Asher Anderson, corner of Third and Maine. He opened his little store in 1826 and carried a miscellaneous stock of goods, dishes, shoes, calico and household articles of all kinds. A story is told of his buying a \$3,000 stock which sank on the steamboat upon which they were shipped, some distance below Quincy. After being under water some time, the boat was raised but to his dismay, the goods which consisted largely of colored prints, muslins, shawls, handkerchiefs, ribbons, etc., had all their hues run together, making a most brilliant blending of undecipherable designs. With a wild hope of saving something from his wrecked fortune he offered the goods at public auction. So strongly did these hotchpotch colored goods catch the fancy of the settlers that he realized a profit from his sale which enabled him to lay in a larger stock than before. Which goes to show that a bargain counter even then appealed to the people of Quincy. Blue jeans or butternut colored jeans and linsey-woolsey answered for outer clothing.

Those who could afford them indulged in calico and shoes, those who could not did without. Sometimes the men dressed in buckskin which when carefully dressed, dyed and fitted, made a handsome, indeed often an elegant, suit with wonderful durability of wear. Women generally wore homespun, the linsey woolsey with the printed muslin or calico to be donned on Sunday. And on the head the huge horn comb covered by the universal sunbonnet worn at all times indoors and out. Shoes were a dress article used by all who could afford them and carefully hoarded up for winter needs by all. It was not uncommon for women walking to meeting or a gathering of any kind to take their shoes in hand and put them on just before they reached the place of assemblage, taking them off again while on their return. It is said that Gov. Wood in 1826, the day before he was married walked down to opposite the mouth of the Fabius, canoed over the river, thence footed it to Palmyra, to purchase a pair of shoes for his bride to wear at the ceremony the following day, returning the same way he went. One of the country's early settlers can remember seeing Gov. Carlin's wife milking cows and she was barefoot at that time. And one of Quincy's most elegant and haughty ladies, still living used to be seen coming into town riding in her father's farm wagon with her shoes tied with white strings. Stockings which were utterly unknown in ancient times were almost equally unknown in the early days of the west. Those that were worn were of wool home knit, generally white or gray except when taste of coquetry gave them a walnut or grape or some other modest dark vegetable dye. The busy housewife had not only to spin the yarn and knit these stockings, she had also to make her husband's clothes. It is said Gov. Wood's first wife's people did this for pay and it is narrated that after Mrs. Joseph Turner's advent in 1834 a great improvement was noted in the appearance of the men in the neighborhood when they went to church as she was such an expert tailoress. A brief description of a handsome, conscious rustic belle of Adams County, as she appeared when dashing up to the meeting house door on horseback some 50 odd years ago is thus told by a lady observer. Dark grey woolen stockings, cowhide brogans, with leather shoestrings, a very short skyblue silk skirt somewhat faded, a black silk waist or sleeveless jacket, also much worn and furnishing its own fringe in the fray of its edges, a square muslin cape with a broad unstarched ruffle, a huge white leghorn sugar scoop bonnet, with a long black feather and parti-colored ribbon promiscuously bestowed thereon. This represents, however, a state of things about to pass away. Every year brought in new settlers and before the close of the thirties a decided change was seen in the construction of houses and general comfort and style of living. But people enjoyed themselves then, everybody was young, there were no class distinctions, they helped each other and in all this wide world there is no hospitality so generous and cordial and sincere as was that of the pioneers of Illinois. We have stayed a long time at Asher Anderson's watching him exchange his goods for honey and coonskins and beeswax. The latter a favorite object of barter. Money was scarce, especially small silver. This led to the use of "cut money." A Mexican or Spanish dollar would be cut in eight pieces. Each of these little silver wedges representing $12\frac{1}{2}$ c and their circulation was general. It was shrewdly suspected, however, that if all the pieces of

any one dollar could come together there would be discovered nine. The coiner thus paying himself for the labor of manufacture.

We will now walk up if you please to the corner of 4th and Maine where the Newcomb now stands and investigate Rufus Brown's hotel. We find the following tavern rates. Single meal of victuals 25c, lodging 12½c, pint whiskey 12½c, ½ pint rum 18¾c, ½ pint French brandy 37½c, ½ pint wine 37½c, bottle of wine \$1.00, horse feed for night, fodder and grain 25c, horse feed single 12½c. This does not please us, so we will wend our way through the deep roadway which cuts the square from S. W. to N. E. taking note as we go of the sumac and hazelbrush and few scattering trees upon it with just one large white oak. This brings us out to the corner of 5th and Hampshire or Pucker Street as it was called in the town slang of those days. A short distance west the Widow Sallie Wheat had a private boarding house and just as we are turning she comes out with a horn nearly as long as herself and blows a welcome blast to call her boarders to her famous meals. She afterward moved down to the river near the foot of Broadway where her boarders followed, climbing up and down the bluff for their meals rather than change to the hotels. This lady whose good cooking goes down in history must have cooked in a fireplace as cook stoves were then unknown. I have been unable to find when cook stoves were invented but the first one cast in Quincy was in 1849 and was called the Prairie State. As to the possibilities of a fireplace let us quote Clark Carr who in his *Illini* says, "Who can forget the savory fragrance that came from the pots and kettles that hung upon the crane, and from the Dutch oven and the frying pans and the spits and the griddles and all the accessories of the great fireplace. I have never been able to find in a London grill room or in a Paris or Vienna or Copenhagen cafe viands that began to equal those prepared by good Illinois pioneer women at those fireplaces, seasoned as they were by good cheer and good appetite. Think of the corn bread and johnny cake baked in the Dutch oven, the hoe cakes and pan cakes baked on the griddle, the hasty pudding, the hulled corn and the hominy boiled in the pot, with all the savory meats cooked in a dozen different ways. Who that has tasted such fare would not wish to go back again and live in a pioneer's cabin?" I have been assured by one who had tasted it that never was bread so sweet as the salt rising bread my mother used to bake in her Dutch oven. This was a large circular, rather shallow, iron pot on legs with a cover upon which was heaped hot coals and ashes. And a roast surrounded by potatoes and baked in this was delicious, says Mr. Lyford. On extra occasions, Christmas, etc., a goose perhaps would be suspended from the ceiling in front of the fire with a pan underneath to catch the drippings. This was slowly revolved until done brown.

Then as now Adams County was kind to her children. Food came almost spontaneously. The forests were full of game, wild turkeys, prairie chickens, quail, even deer. The ponds and rivers were full of fish, cattle had unlimited pasture. The rich soil returned a generous yield of domestic vegetables, grain and fruit. A story is told of Dr. Bartlett, one of the keenest of the old time sportsmen who came into Quincy late one night. Next morning when he went down stairs he found the landlord buying a saddle of venison for 50c and just then Capt. Phillips came in with his gun and dog and a back load of quails

which he had shot in Keyes' cornfield. He went upstairs and told his wife he had found the place to stay. There were wild plums, grapes, blackberries, crab apples and gooseberries to be had for the picking, but canning was unknown and the housewife perforce must preserve them to keep them. Gov. Wood raised his first apple orchard (between 12th and 14th, State and Kentucky) from seed. The first lot of seed he walked nearly to Alton to secure, paying a dollar for a pint, only 3 seeds of which grew. The second lot of seed he washed from pomace of a cider mill and was afterwards given some seed by a sick family in gratitude for a present of maple sugar. Perhaps in some garden you might be shown bushes with small red fruit and told they were love apples. They were never eaten. These were the ancestors of our tomatoes so much a part of our daily menu. It was quite a step onward when the housekeeper owned and used a tin oven. It was set down in front of the fire and sometimes had a rod through it on which to suspend pieces of meat. There was also a reflector where the bright tin reflected the heat of the fire.

When Deacon Ebenezer Turner (husband of our patron Saint, Polly Sumner) came to Quincy he brought dandelion seeds with him being very fond of dandelion greens. When we laboriously seek to exterminate them from our lawns by back breaking methods must we blame the old Deacon for their introduction? I am sure I never saw a dandelion growing wild but always near the habitation of man. The early settlers procured wild honey and later had their own bees. Honey was often used for sweetening. I have heard my mother say they used to drink sage tea sweetened with honey but how she detested it. I can assure you however, that crabapples or ground cherries cooked in honey are delicious. Bountiful as the supply of food was however, it was sometimes hard for the Quincy hotels to keep their tables steadily supplied since there were no markets, no gardeners, no milkmen. A good cow could be bought for \$8 or \$10 and could be pastured free, yet there were many times when there was no milk for the coffee of guests of the hotel. A story is told of a boarder at Brown's Hotel who put his head in the door just as the others were finishing breakfast and called to the landlord, "I've got her, bring me a bucket." When they went out on the front porch they found he had brought a cow, fastened her with a trace chain to one of the posts of the porch and was getting the milk he wanted for his coffee. Things went better after that. In those early times there was a wedding at Carthage, where the family wishing to do something out of the ordinary, sent to St. Louis for lemons and served the wedding guests with lemonade. The guests took the rinds home for souvenirs. Everyone rode horseback or in wagons. My father and mother took their wedding journey on horseback (of ten or twelve miles). Polly Sumner's chaise and the two seated carriage which came you know in 1834, must have been quite a distinction if anything was left of them after the 60 days trip from Maine.

I have been told by a man 90 years old that when he came to Quincy in 1843 there was but one buggy owned in the town and he had it engaged every other Sunday to go see his girl. A poor lady died (near Payson I think) and was hauled to the graveyard on a sled, though it was summer time, for there was nothing else to take the body to the place of interment.

The cost of living about 1835 was in some respects light and others heavy. Home products were easily and cheaply obtained at low prices. Imported stuffs were exceptionally dear. The following shows some of the prices current in 1835: Hams 8c and 10c, beef 4c, best butter 16c, coffee 20c, brown sugar 12c, loaf sugar 20c, whiskey 30c, 50c per gallon, cheese 10c, coal 20c per bushel, flour averaging about \$4 per barrel, beeswax, which had been a cash staple, 16c. Of grass seed which appears to have been very scarce, clover \$8, timothy \$3, blue grass \$2, hides 9c, green hides, 4½c, cut nails 10c, wrought nails 20c, salt \$1.00 to \$1.50. Wheat sold for about 50c, potatoes ranged from 25c to \$1.00. About this time importations of staples, such as flour and bacon ceased. The home productions being sufficient. From this time Quincy lived mostly on the products of home industries.

We must hasten our walk as time is flying. We will call on Mr. Keyes who has built a house near the foot of Spring Street, as we wish to see the large spring over which the house is built and which bubbles up through the cellar or lower story of the house and runs freely over the surface to the bay. This spring gives the name to the street. It now is said to run underground and has been almost forgotten unless the one on the Monroe Dye Works domain is the same. We hurry through the old cemetery where the courthouse now stands. The graves are fenced in with rails like little pens. We make another call at a little cabin where the inmates say they have to stand close to the fire place to eat their meals it is so cold and the snow sifts in several inches deep. We hear about a piano which a neighbor over at Carthage has had brought as far as possible by water and then hauled miles and miles by land. All the settlers from miles around go to hear it played.

It is after dark when we return to the square. The children are hushed to sleep and laid in their downy nests. The housewife prides herself on the number and quality of her feather beds. There are no springs but a rope laced across and across forms the foundation for the beds. The thrifty housekeeper no doubt has her breakfast planned as she sets her spinning wheel back out of the way or swings her quilt up to the ceiling, but it does not include baking powder biscuit or the 1001 breakfast foods which were then unheard of. With a spill lighted at the fireplace she lights the candles she has dipped or moulded in candle moulds. They will need an occasional snuffing but soon they twinkle around the square and even a little way out Maine and Pucker Streets, quite as merrily as the electroliers of 1912. "How far those little candles throw their beams." (Helen C. Turner, read Oct. 12, 1912, at Mrs. Thresher's.)

Extract from letter of Mrs. Catherine Sewall to her cousin written March 3, 1891. "You asked some questions about our trip from Maine to Illinois. You know I was eleven the winter we arrived here. We started from the East side of the Androscoggin. Hundreds of people collected on the banks to bid us goodbye. Father stood on the pole of his wagon to make his speech and say farewell. I think we were about two weeks on the road to Dedham, Mass., where we stayed two weeks. Our train consisted of father's two horse carriage; grandmother, mother and Rufus were the occupants. Next came the one horse shay. Aunt Ann driving with Charles and myself tormenting her, putting our feet through the wheels, etc. Next came Uncle John

with a baggage wagon. Next Uncle Leverett, Aunt Leverett, William, James and Eben, a sick boy. So was Rufus sick all the way. Then Mr. and Mrs. Mitchell with their two boys. All with horses, no cattle. We were about 60 days on the road. As to dates, I have none, only know we came to our cabin in November and a homesick crew we all were, but when Spring came we were all happy. Father would come in so delighted, no stones to knock the plow out."

Extract from John Turner's letter to his niece written March 6, 1891. "We did not drive any open from Maine. Your father drove two, I drove two. Your Aunt Bradbury one the racker in the chaise (cast with a top) all of the horse race.

The first day, yes before we got ten miles we had an accident. You see we had a dog. We did not want to lose him, so they tied him to the axle of my wagon. Well the dog was not well broke to lead and I suppose got very suddenly badly choked and as suddenly there was the most outlandish yow yow yowing that is often heard. Anyhow Old Becky my lead nag thought so no doubt for quick as a flash she started on a gee pull and in spite of me, got herself past your father's wagon and hooked my near wheel to his off hind wheel and as old Becky proposed to go faster than your father, the one consequence was, the tongue of my wagon was broken and so a halt had to be sounded. The above occurred on Aug. 25, 1834 as I remember it and I believe that is or was the date of our leaving our old neighborhood. We crossed the old Androscoggin River from the east side to the west and as we approached the landing there were at least 100 people assembled to see us off. The song, "When shall we meet again" was sung and many a "God bless you" was said. Many salty tears were wiped and we drove on the boat and after we were all across the cavalcade started down stream and only a few miles were made until the dog tragedy occurred. I remember that we made our first bivouac at what is now the city of Lewistown or Lewiston, the city of cotton mills. Now I cannot remember any other place that we stayed over night in Maine, but I don't think we were more than four or five days getting to Dedham, Mass., or to mother's old home. The date that we pulled out S. W. from mother's people I have no idea, but I think we were there not over ten or twelve days. We traveled about S. W. through Connecticut. Crossed the Hudson at Sing Sing I know, passed N. Y. about ten miles north of what was then New York. Across N. Y. to Easton, Penn. Harrisburg, Chambersburg on the McAdam road, from Baltimore to Wheeling where we crossed the Ohio River. Columbus capital of Ohio, Indianapolis, capital of Indiana, then to Springfield, Ill. Now all of these towns were small or the most of them. All the way along there were towns but it was day by day business to make headway west and it got to be an awful old story to me and it is only now and then that I remember anything particular that transpired on the way. In the east part of the State we struck the prairies and one afternoon were entirely out of sight of timber which was wonderful to me then, not a house or tree in sight." The above are extracts from family letters giving an account of the journey from Maine.

THE MAKING OF A CITY.

(1830 to 1845.)

We can hardly realize the hardships of the pioneers who first settled here; either of their lives or of their long journey in coming. Many of the first who came walked, some rode on horseback, some rode in wagons drawn by horses, more by ox-teams. Some floated down the Ohio River on flat boats and came up the Mississippi as best they could.

In 1819 Asa Tryer, the man who settled by the beautiful spring in South Park walked with a knapsack on his back, carrying flint, steel and punk, to make a fire on the way. He came to locate a quarter section of land he had bought from a soldier of 1812. He came through the tangle of brush to "The Bluffs" and easily found his land, as the marks made by the Government surveyors were still fresh. He rode back to St. Louis on a government steamboat that had been sent out to try the feasibility of navigating the Mississippi. He was on the river bank, as the boat passed down and it stopped and took him on. Thus, he was the first man to ride on the first steamboat that ever stopped at Quincy and it was many a year before another came.

Four years later he returned and built a cabin on his land, and the next year brought his family up the river on skiffs, the two being lashed together with a platform placed on them, upon which the family rode slowly and safely. He set up a blacksmith shop and also improvised sort of a machine to pound up corn for hominy, which was propelled by water from the spring.

The same year that Asa Tryer first came to Quincy the Whipple family came to Illinois. While they were floating down the Ohio River on a flat boat a son (Daniel) was born. It was late in the season when they reached the vicinity of Alton and as there was no house and not time to build one, they passed the first winter in a cave. One day they all got into a skiff and went up the river to visit some people they knew. (These isolated pioneers needed to visit each other to break the terrible monotony and loneliness). Upon the return of the family to their cave home they found feathers scattered around its mouth, which frightened them dreadfully. They were much afraid to go in, thinking that Indians might be there. Finally mustering courage they entered and found some white hunters occupying the place and they felt so relieved and so glad to see people that they kept the hunters as guests for several days.

That winter they had to go 40 miles to get corn meal for bread. When they came from the East they had brought enough potatoes for planting, but before spring came they were so hungry they dug out the eyes of the potatoes and saved them for planting, eating the remainder of the potatoes. But, from the little dried up eyes, which they saved, they raised a fine crop in the rich virgin soil the next year. The Whipples came on up the river and settled at Quincy before 1830. Mr. Whipple also had an improvised corn mill of the pestle and mortar type, run by water power. The meal for breakfast being pounded during the night. One night a hungry coon while trying to help himself to the corn in the mortar met his fate by means of the pestle and in the morning there was a mingling of corn and coon. (This story of the Whipples was sent to me by Edwin Streeter, Oregon, whose mother was a Whipple and it has never been published.)

When John Wood bought his first piece of land from Flynn in 1821 or 1822, he walked to Alton, 120 miles to make the bargain and when there was danger that Illinois would be a slave State (as told by Miss Langdon) he walked all over Hancock and Adams Counties rallying voters. He took these and other long walks because he was too poor to buy a horse. It seemed to be the age of walking. There is a family tradition that Ebenezer Turner (husband of our Polly Sumner) came here ahead of his family to prepare a home for them and when he thought they ought to be nearly here he grew so anxious and so heartsick for the sight of them that he, a man of 63 years, took his cane and walked to meet them. He walked to Springfield, and when they met, no one was able to speak a word for everyone was crying. In this company which he met, all the wagons were drawn by horses. "Polly" with two other women rode in a carriage and my mother (Nancy Ann Turner) drove a "one horse shay." In one spring wagon a large rocking chair with arms was firmly fastened. In this chair rode Polly's oldest married daughter (Mary Leverett) holding in her arms all that long weary journey of 60 days from Livermore, Maine, a sick child two years old, as carefully as possible so that the jar of the rough roads would not tire him too much.

Extract from a letter written by Ebenezer Turner, July, 1835 to relatives in Massachusetts. He with his wife, Polly Sumner, and family had moved to Adams County the previous year, when he was 63 and his wife 59 years old. This letter is unique, on account of the prophecy it contains concerning the developments in the then far West and also about transportation facilities.

"We all live in small log cabins and put what we can under the bed, and the remainder on top of it. About one-third of the land in this country is covered with wood and two-thirds prairie. Where there are few or no settlements the prairie is burned over, generally in the Fall, but where settlements are thick the fires have been arrested and the woodland will increase. Twenty years will settle this State as thickly as Massachusetts was thirty years ago, and then there will be a million inhabitants in it. My friends, in a few years, perhaps fifteen, those who may then live in Illinois may travel to Boston in four days." (It had taken his family 60 days to come with horses from Maine.) "If facilities for travelling keep pace with the times as they have for 20 years past, railroads will perhaps be made and run with locomotive engines from Maine to the Mississippi; and some time after that is done, from the Mississippi to the Pacific Ocean. There is a company of 100 families who have engaged to emigrate from the State of Missouri (next west of us) to Upper California, on the Pacific Ocean. This I had, from a newspaper. Emigration is pushing westward, but the great Pacific Ocean will bring them all up. The people in this State begin to shove over the great Mississippi to find land, that they take up, without money or price, and multitudes from Middle and Northern states are arriving to take their places, and settle on the fine prairies. From your good friends, Ebenezer Turner and Polly Turner."

When Rev. and Mrs. Asa Turner came to Quincy in 1830, they forded every stream between Cincinnati and Quincy. The day previous to the night they reached the end of their long ride from Massachusetts they passed over a large prairie which was on fire on each side of the road and nearer, passed through a strip of timber, which was also on

fire, making it dangerous to pass, as burning trees were falling on each side. They did not know how near they were to their journey's end and when they reached Brown's at 4th and Maine (of which Mrs. Turner has told) it seemed indeed a haven of refuge to the weary travelers.

We can hardly imagine the terrors timid women had to face, who came to make new homes, with their husbands and little children. Tho' the women were brave, and made the best of their hardships, it did not take away their keen fear, or make them less nervous. There is a story of a women who lived one whole summer with three little children in a pen made of poles and she was all the time in deathly fear of the rattlesnakes, which were so numerous then. There is another story of an English family, just from a great city, to which the wilderness was a horror of fear. The mother of the family suffered with terror of being scalped by the Indians during the Black Hawk War, not knowing when they were prowling about. Wolves they often saw, in daytime and could hear sniffing around at night and setting up blood curdling howls. The father had brought from England a massive chest, and by the combined strength of the family it was dragged before the door each night, when they felt comparative safety from the Indians.

In those early days hotels were few and far between and accommodations meager, but "Heart-room, House-room" was the prevailing motto with most of those noble pioneer men and women. They never said "No" to a weary traveler, seeking food or shelter. It is said of a family near Clayton (Campbell) that they lodged eleven of the aristocracy of Quincy at one time, in their cabin but 16 ft. square.

Father Turner as a home missionary traveled nearly all one night. He at last found a cabin. There were 16 people in it, but a log cabin those days was never full, so he was welcomed to what the people had. Another time he was travelling in company with a friend, and sought a night's shelter after the family had retired. The cabin was about 12 ft. square. The woman had three in her bed and two on a bed supported by sticks driven into the logs. She got up and took one child off the floor and put into her bed, and another off the floor and put into the "patent" bed, thus making room for Mr. Turner and his friend to sleep on the floor. Wasn't that true hospitality? The people of those days were obliged to be resourceful. I know of one young girl who found the cabin roof on fire. No water in the bucket and the spring one-fourth mile away. Her mother ran screaming to call the men from the field, but the girl climbed on the roof, with a pan of buttermilk and with a cloth, "dabbled" away at the fire, putting it out before the men came. (My husband's mother, Harriet Bittleston Long). All the women of those times knew how to make remedies for the family ills, from the herbs and barks and roots that grew at hand and how to minister to one another in all the extremities from birth to death. It was a time when strong and lasting friendships were formed and the word neighbor had its true scriptural meaning. These were the kind of brave men and women who gathered here and made a little settlement; the beginning of a city. Quincy has had three different phases in her life. First a village under State laws for nine years, second a town incorporated for six years and a city with a charter ever since.

In 1830 though five years had passed since the commissioners named our city and decided where the county seat was to be (naming both city

and county for the new president, John Quincy Adams) it only contained a population of about 200 people, though this was really a rapid growth. The village was just a ragged little hamlet. The forlorn looking bluffs, seamed with gullies and nearly barren of timber. A few cabins lay along Front Street, mostly north of Hampshire. Among these was Keyes' cabin and a little south was the double cabin, called the Steamboat Hotel. There were but two routes by which wagons could ascend the hill; one following the creek where Delaware Street now is, the other by a very steep and winding track, from the foot of Vermont Street finally reaching level ground on Hampshire Street between 3d and 4th.

Being a county seat, it was necessary to have a courthouse. The next year after the stake was driven in the Park (1826) there was a sale of lots to raise funds and a two-story log courthouse was built, the upper story being for the county offices. It was on the east side of the square. Not long after the log jail was built. It was a peculiar structure, for there were no doors, only grated windows. The prisoners were dropped down through a trap door in the top, but the building was so open that they could joke with the passers-by. Just back of this jail was land owned by Ebenezer Turner and his son Edward lived there. One day Polly's grandson Eben Leverett tried to give a drink of water to a negro who was imprisoned, but the little boy failed to reach as high as the negro could reach down, so the poor fellow had to remain thirsty. Edward Turner built a little machine shop on the back of the lot where Doerr's now is and here later on Robt. Gardner learned the machinist's trade.

By 1830 the village had a store, two taverns and quite a number of residences. There was a two-story frame house at the N. W. corner of Maine and 4th built in '29 by Robt. Tillson, where, for years, the post office was kept, after it was moved from the pine box in John Wood's cabin at the foot of Delaware Street. Beside the Tillson house, Rufus Brown on the S. E. corner of 4th and Maine had built a frame addition to his log hotel; and Willard Keyes to his cabin on Front Street. The lumber for these very fine improvements had been brought on a raft from mill in N. E. Missouri. The previous year a man named Holt had made some bricks and in the thirties Asher Anderson built a small brick addition to his store on the N. side of Maine, E. of 3d st. and there were a few chimneys laid up. Around the square were scattered about half a dozen cabins on each side, a few more were south of Maine and east of 5th on Hampshire. This was Quincy in 1830.

It had been necessary to go 40 miles to Atlas (South) for meal and flour. In '29 Wood and Keyes deeded to Mr. Whipple a quarter section of land to build a mill upon. This mill was about at the foot of Cedar Street. It ground very slowly as the mill-stones were only 12 in. in diameter, but it was a great improvement upon the 40 mile ride every time the mealsack was empty. With the easy and rapid means of transportation we now have, we cannot realize how dependent the settlers were upon the river, as a means of bringing the necessities of life. There were a few steamboats but their arrival was very uncertain. They left St. Louis only when they had a full cargo and then came slowly. Polly Sumner's husband once grew weary of waiting for the boat to start from St. Louis and walked, beating the boat to Quincy by two hours. Much of the traffic, however, was carried on by keel boats. These were pro-

pelled by poling, putting long poles in the muddy banks and prying the boat forward, crawling along the bank, up stream. Other boats progressed by "cordelling" which was by passing a long rope around a tree, ahead and then drawing the boat up by pulling the rope. Either way was dreadfully hard, slow work and 8 miles a day was a good average progress. (Mrs. Sibley told of her grandfather, the merchant of Cahokia, making a trip each year in these boats, way up the river to trade with the Indians and how sometimes his family accompanied him on these journeys. She told how her mother, a little girl, in reaching over the side of the boat to get a drink of water dropped the cup and lost it, one of a set of a dozen little silver cups.)

Congress had devoted $3\frac{1}{2}$ million acres of land, in that part of Illinois lying between the Illinois and Mississippi Rivers and extending North from their junction 198 miles to the payment of the soldiers of the War of 1812, each one to receive 160 acres. This comprehended $\frac{3}{5}$ of the entire tract, and it was provided that no land should be sold by the government, therein, until all the soldiers were paid. It was thus that this portion of the State became known as the "Bounty Lands" or "Military District." In 1830 the Government land office, for the sale of this land, was located in Quincy. This with private land offices represented all the unsold land in the tract, 1,400,000 acres. This opening of land for sale was an event of great importance. Soon the counties began to fill up with newcomers, who paid the uniform price of \$1.25 per acre. The land office here in 1830, as everywhere, was very important. The Registrar had to record all applications for public lands. The Receiver had to take and receipt for all money deposited by the applicant, to secure him a patent and future ownership of the land he had selected. Dishonest men could have padded their pockets, and defrauded the applicants, knowing as they did know from surveys in their possession, the character and value of all the unentered land.

For 15 years this district was the most important one in the State, and the transferred records show a clearer face, and have had less to come up for reexamination than from any other of the old land districts. The honest and able men, entirely trustworthy, who filled this office, were Thomas Carlin (who became Governor), Alexander, Leech, Flood, Sullivan, Asbury, Rogers, Holmes, Marsh and Hauser. These were successively in charge until the office was transferred to Springfield in 1859 or '60.

During the winter of '30-'31 the deepest snow ever known in Illinois fell. For three months it lay on the ground, making it almost impossible to travel. Many animals were killed off because they could find nothing to eat. The settlers were shut up in their homes, often far from any one else. The snow began to fall December 27, 1830, and in the morning was two feet deep outside and as a man who remembered and told it in later years said, "it was six inches deep inside the cabin." This was Mr. Sterne of Ellington Township. He made a path to his spring, by extreme exertion and from there carried water and saturated the snow on the roof of his cabin making it windproof and snowproof for the rest of the winter.

In 1831 several frame buildings were erected and several log ones. Also a steam flour mill was built. This, with the establishment by Capt. Nat'l Pease of a pork packing establishment, two years later, were

great benefits to the community for they created a market for the grain and hogs raised in all the surrounding country, making possible the coming of prosperity.

The establishment of the land office brought money, cash which was so badly needed for circulation. Previous to this, most dealings had of necessity, been by barter or swapping. The land office brought so many travelers, that another hotel was needed. This was built at the N. W. corner of 5th and Hampshire (Stern's) and was called the "Land Office Hotel" and later on was nicknamed the "Bed-bug Hotel" on account of liveliness of its beds.

As late as 1832 when the Black Hawk War broke out Indians were numerous around Quincy. These were of the Sac and Fox tribes. Frequently the shores of the river were covered with their wigwams. They traded with the white people in the village and in the country. Generally they were peaceable when sober. Sometimes they had squaw dances and sent the hat around for money. Quincy and the country around sent two large companies of volunteers to fight the Indians in the Black Hawk War. There was great excitement, especially the morning the volunteers marched away. Of those brave men, few if any, lost their lives, and it was well for nearly every able bodied man had gone to the war.

In 1833 that fatal disease, cholera, made its first appearance here. It was the 4th of July. Many of the people were going to a barbecue at Ursa. Two or three of these were taken sick and died before sundown of that day. The utmost consternation prevailed. Many left in great haste. Within the next five days 33 deaths from cholera occurred. Two days after the epidemic appeared, a meeting was called at the courthouse to consult upon means to prevent the further spread of the disease, and to adopt measures of relief for the sick. Wm. Flood was chairman and O. H. Browning secretary of this meeting. The town was divided into three districts, and committees of vigilance appointed. These committees were to meet at 8 o'clock every morning to make all necessary arrangements for the care and nourishment of the sick and also for the burial of the dead. These men themselves had often, not only to wait upon the sick, but to bury the dead, digging the graves themselves. Mr. Browning told of taking a corpse to the cemetery by himself, where he dug the grave and buried it alone. (The question came up as to where coffins were obtained in this emergency, and all concluded that rough boxes were nailed up.)

Fortunately the disease soon ran its course, and not all who had the disease died of it. Many recovered, but it needed most prompt attention to save a life. This record is interesting because it shows how the self reliant pioneers met the crisis. They were strong men of true mettle and they did their duty.

From 1825 to 1834 the village had no laws or ordinances, living under the general laws of the State. In June of '34 the "Town of Quincy" was incorporated. Archibald Williams, Samuel W. Rogers, Levi Wells, Michael Mast and Joseph T. Holmes were elected its first trustees. These trustees met and organized; wrote and passed a code of ordinances and by-laws for the new town. The 1st article defined the limits of the town, the 2d prohibited shooting inside the limits with a fine of \$1.00 for each offense; the 3d concerned the disposal of the

bodies of dead animals; the 4th forbade the obstructing of water courses (these last two to protect the health of the people); the 5th forbade obstructions in the streets longer than positively necessary for the loading and unloading of building materials; the 6th concerned peace disturbance; the 7th was a strict rule against gambling houses. Three of the men who lived here about this time became Governors of the State; Ford, Carlin and Wood. Three became U. S. Senators; Young, Browning and Richardson. One, Morgan, a Major General during the rebellion.

Mr. Keyes brought the first steam ferryboat in 1835. Previous to this time travelers were ferried over the river on flatboats with great labor and much hard rowing. It was an old steamboat, almost worn out, but so fast in contrast with the hand propelled craft, that its coming was hailed as a great event and it was even used for an excursion, one which was the forerunner of many similar experiences of frolic and disaster. Another event of great importance to our rapidly growing town was the establishment of a real newspaper in 1835 when Quincy was only a ten-year-old town. This was the early newspaper in the State. It was named the "Illinois Bounty-Land Register." The paper "proposed to make known to the world, the values of this fair region," and it was mostly given to the description of the Military district and its history, also there were all kinds of advertisements and notices concerning the land business. There was some Eastern news, and a few local items. Its circulation became quite large, and it played an important part in the early growth of the surrounding country. Later on, with the advent of more papers in the other counties, the character of the "Register" changed and became more local. Its name also had several changes, and about 1840 it became the "Herald." The "Whig" was established in 1838. These two papers have traveled down the years, side by side, recording all the events of importance, representing the two great political beliefs.

From the first copy of the first paper published, we found this extract from the pen of Joseph T. Holmes: "From July, 1831, to July, 1832 there was imported into Quincy, produce, consisting principally of flour and bacon to the value of \$5,000. From July, 1834, to July, 1835 with an increased population there will be no importation of these articles but on the contrary it is safely stated that produce of these articles will be exported to the value of \$40,000." This boom, this gain, this changed condition was possible, because the country was filling up, being cultivated and stock raising began, coupled with the fact of the steam flour mill and the pork packing business being established in town to use what the farmers produced.

By 1835 the mail came in, or was expected to, twice a week by stage lines from the East. When the roads permitted the mail was brought in an old fashioned "Troy Coach" stage, but during part of the time the conveyance was a "mud-wagon" or "bone-breaker" either name being appropriate. This was simply a huge square box, fastened on two wheels, into which the passengers and the mail were piled promiscuously and it is said that the prayer of the insensate mail and of the passengers was "Good Lord Deliver Us."

The log courthouse built ten years before where, as a wag used to say "Justice is dispensed with," was burned during the winter of 1835-

36 and like its successor, there was rejoicing at its birth and its death. There were no regrets heard, as the flames shot upward. Indeed some of the logs were even pushed in, to be sure it should all be consumed. Following this, there was another sale of town lots to raise money to replace the burned building and work upon it was at once begun.

The importance of Quincy as a land center, bringing so many visitors on land business, made it necessary that there should be one good large hotel. In 1836 the Quincy House, on the corner of 4th and Maine (The site of Brown's Hotel) was commenced. This was a really handsome building, and it looked odd, with only log cabins and small frame buildings near by. Mr. Munroe was the first landlord. He, his wife and three charming daughters were soon very popular and under their management the Quincy House became the social center of the town, while, as a hotel, it was equal if not superior to any in Illinois or in St. Louis at that time.

Our State, thus far, had only been opened up, and settled along the water courses. These were fringed with settlements, but the back country, was all a vast grassy wilderness. Only by the coming of the railroad, could these fertile acres be developed. The first organized movement in Quincy was in 1836 when a meeting was held, requesting the Legislature to incorporate a company to build a railroad from Quincy to the Illinois River. A section of this road was built, from Springfield to the Illinois River (the present Wabash line) and finally work here in Quincy was begun. Patriotism was vigorous, excitement ran high, and all thought the "Northern Cross Railroad" would soon be in operation. The route was graded nearly to Camp Point when the money gave out. Part of this track was used by the C. B. & Q. later on. Some of the grading which was done still remains out East Broadway. It was intended to have the cars run to 12th & Broadway, and from there to the river was to be an inclined plane, operating with stationary engines. This project was finally changed to the approach north of town which follows the natural grade of the water courses and was adopted by the C. B. & Q. many years after.

The state of Missouri was slave holding. Slaves could cross the river, and were helped here by people who believed slavery to be wrong, to escape to Canada. This led to a very strained feeling between the people of these two neighboring sections. In 1836, Dr. Nelson, a brilliant preacher who had a school in Palmyra and who was a strong Abolitionist, made an injudicious remark at a camp meeting in Missouri and had to flee for his life such intense excitement followed. He ran through high grass and brush to the river, was nearly caught, but finally reached Quincy, wet and nearly exhausted. Following this, some most unkind messages were sent back and forth, and Dr. Nelson moved his "Institute" of learning out east of Quincy about five miles, where he educated young men for the ministry and they were enabled to pay part of the expenses by working on the land, while living in little cabins built around the one large house. (This is the "Sprigg" farm when the narcissuses come in Spring.)

There was another Institute in East Quincy about 25th or 26th Street and between Maine and Hampshire. The object of this school was principally to educate men and women for missionary service. The teachers of this school also, were strong Abolitionists and several years

later some incensed slave owners from Missouri, whose slaves had been helped away, came and burned the institute buildings.

Those were troublous times, indeed, fore-runners of the terrible conflict coming. The next year, there was another excitement when feeling ran high and when Abolitionists stored all kinds of firearms and weapons of defense under the pulpit in the baptistry in "God's Barn." It was caused by the effort to vindicate the freedom of speech, at all hazards, by the Abolitionists, when those who favored slavery tried to break up their meetings.

There began in 1838 an immigration of the Mormons, which, later on began to flow away to their new purchase at Nauvoo. Joseph Smith lived in Quincy, temporarily, when driven from Missouri. The conditions of these people was pitiable, at times, and the people of Quincy were kind and expressed great sympathy for them. They were crowded into barns and sheds, many in huts and tents, all through the town, but in spite of all hardships they kept up all their religious services, and for a time were more numerous than any other religious organization in Quincy.

In 1838 a "Hook and Ladder" company was formed, to protect the community from the ravages of fire. They had four ladders of 15, 20 and 25 and 30 feet in length, also six fire hooks, and 12 buckets. These purchases were the beginning of our present capable fire department and the men who formed this company were the prominent young men of the town. The next year (1839) a fire engine was purchased—a hand engine—the citizens stood on each side and pumped.

That year (1839) also saw the first public improvement. It was decided to spend \$200 improving Delaware Street whenever \$300 should be furnished by donation and that \$1,000 be appropriated was offered to Maine Street. The Maine Street people declined, as the land owners were required to give bonds for whatever the expense should exceed the \$1,000. Then the Hampshire Street people accepted and it was graded and gravelled from 3d to Front. As by this time there was much shipping on the steamboats, this improvement was of very great benefit. Mr. Redmond whose name was prominent in the forties had the contract. When four years later, Maine Street was opened through the high bluff called Mt. Pisgah to the river, there were found in its high mound many human skeletons, presumably those of the earliest inhabitants of our fair county.

Eighteen hundred forty was an ambitious one for Quincy. It was now 15 years old, and had a population of from 1,850 to 2,000. Please remember that only ten years before it had just about 200. The previous year, by special charter allowed from the State Legislature, a new board of trustees were chosen at the April election, Conyers, Holmes, Tillson, Leech and Woodruff. These men prepared new ordinances, so comprehensive that they were adopted, almost without change, when in 1840 the town emerged into a real city. When the business of the town corporation was closed up there was a balance of \$365.00 "for pin money" with which the newly born city began its career.

The future city was divided into three wards, all north of Hampshire Street being 1st ward; all between Hampshire and Maine to 5th and thence south to York eastward as a dividing line was 2d ward; and all south of this was 3d ward. The election for the first city offi-

cers was very earnest, but good natured. Everybody knew everybody and most of the voters were young men, jolly and full of life and jokes. The Whigs nominated Ebenezer Moore and the Democrats Samuel Leech for Mayor. Mr. Moore was elected. He was reelected the next year and was followed by Enoch Conyers for two years and next by John Wood who served four years.

In the early forties the first public schools were established, after much agitation and many objections. It was ordered that a schoolhouse be built in the old cemetery lot (where our courthouse now stands). This was the first "Jefferson School." A lot was also purchased on South 5th Street where the Franklin School was built later. A building which was burned several years ago. From these plantings in the forties our splendid school system has grown.

This same year ten gentlemen formed themselves into an Historical club, for the preservation of early historical events in this section, realizing that even that soon, many of the earliest happenings were growing to be forgotten, and the men who came as young men were reaching middle age. Of these men Peter Lott, E. J. Phillips and Henry Asbury were chosen to collect materials and prepare such history for publication. The committee went to work holding interviews with the earliest settlers and noted down many interesting items. An introductory chapter was written by Judge Lott, but, as all were busy men the matter was finally dropped. Many years after that Mr. Asbury wrote his valued history from the material gathered at that time.

In 1841 the square was fenced. Before this it was a neglected spot. Farmers used it as a convenient place to feed their teams and exhibit stock, a place to make trades and exchanges. This year the city decided to enclose and to beautify it. This aroused much opposition, the country people claiming it was county property and that they had a right to occupy and use it. There is a story connected with this about the first Seal of Quincy. John Wood had at his own expense with the consent of the new city council transplanted a handsome elm tree to the center of the park. One night some person girdled the tree and of course, it died. In the next issue of the "Herald" appeared a rough sketch of Mr. Wood resting upon his cane and gazing mournfully at the dead tree. At the next meeting of the council, it was voted that this picture be made into a device for a seal for the city, which was done and the seal was used for many years.

In '41 the first steps were taken toward forming a Public Library. A number of gentlemen met, in one of the offices of the old brick court house. It was during the hard times and money was dreadfully scarce, but they began by contributing \$5 worth of stock each and all the books each one could collect, which aggregated 700 volumes by the end of the year. For some time the only revenue was from lectures by the citizens. In 1844 a lecture was given on magnetism and telegraphy by the Rev. Geo. Giddings, Rector of the Episcopal church. At the close of this lecture Lorenzo Bull and Andrew Johnson (partner of Judge Williams) gave a practical demonstration of the telegraph. This was the beginning of telegraphy in Quincy.

Previous to 1840, the Presidential elections had been conducted in a quiet and decorous manner, by the Whigs and Democrats. Quite different, was the campaign, the spontaneous outburst for "Tippecanoe" and

"Tyler too." Quincy had its first parade. There were over a hundred delegates going to a county convention at Columbus. These rode on horses, two abreast, then a large yellow wagon with the band of the "Quincy Grays," a local military organization surmounted by an immense flag having pictures of Harrison and Tyler. Next the cannon, upon its gun-carriage, surmounted by the U. S. Flag, next a canoe, on wheels, and amid-ship a barrel of hard cider, very hard, and hanging upon the barrel a gourd. In the back end of the boat sat a man making motions as if "paddling his own canoe." In some processions there were log-houses, with coon skins nailed upon them built on wagons, and these small houses always had a barrel of hard cider inside.

In 1844 was the great race for the presidency between Henry Clay and James K. Polk. The hard cider and coon skin element which had their origin in '40 still lingered. Henry Clay was called "Harry of the West." The coon skin and Democracy represented by a tin rooster away up on a hickory pole, the higher the better, have had their counterpart in the many campaigns since.

Before 1830 there had been a few visits to the little hamlet by travelling preachers who held religious services in cabins. In 1830 there came to Quincy a home missionary from Massachusetts. Asa Turner. He was 31 years old and full of vigor. With him came his beautiful bride, only 21 years old. These two godly people, had much to do with shaping the sentiments of the new settlement. He preached his first sermon in the log courthouse and soon organized a congregation of fifteen members of various beliefs. He had a small salary from the East, but it was insufficient and the people here were too poor to pay him much. He sold the extra clothes he had brought with him for money to live upon, and when the horse that had brought them safely here from Massachusetts to Illinois died, it seemed a real calamity. He wrote to his friends back East of these times, "If I could only find time to work on a farm, I could earn provisions, but with no other minister short of 80 miles and calls to preach from every quarter, I cannot even find time to hoe my garden."

It was quite natural that newcomers should seek out the pastor and he often had to keep them until they could find homes. This was a heavy drawback upon his resources, but always gladly done. As soon as possible, a place of worship was built, the only structure for years, devoted to religious purposes. It was on 4th Street just south of where the Library now is. It was a long low frame building, an ugly clap-boarded shed, but a place of glowing memories and sacred associations. This was "God's Barn." It cost great labor, but very little money was used in its erection, for there was but little. In the rear of it perched upon two poles was a bell, the rope of which came into the church through a hole behind the pulpit. This bell was paid for by the needle-work of the women. In an address years after by Lorenzo Bull, he said "that sanctuary was the cradle out of which came most of the Protestant churches of Quincy. It was made memorable by the fervor of Father Turner, by the learning of Nelson and the originality of Parson Foote."

By 1845 nearly all of the Protestant churches had church buildings of their own though not all on the present site of their church edifices. The St. Boniface is the oldest Catholic Church in Quincy. It was founded in 1837 and was first called "The Church of the Ascension of

our Lord." In 1839 the name was changed to St. Boniface and the ground at 7th and Maine where it now stands was purchased. The St. Boniface has always held German services. The building of the Northern Cross Railroad had brought many Irish Catholics and these, united with about 50 other English speaking Catholics in the town were able to have a church home and a pastor of their own in 1839, these founding St. Peter's. It is said of the St. Boniface Church and of the Lutheran St. John's Church which was founded the same year ('37) that they acted as a strong magnet in drawing German immigration to Quincy. Old German settlers say that when they reached New Orleans and upon landing learned of these German churches, they were induced to come here to found their new homes.

And now a word about the character of our population. The first settlers came mostly from the New England states and from Kentucky and Virginia. By 1833 a few Germans began to come in. From '36 to '40 a large settlement of Irish came in, induced by the State public improvements and railroad labor required here, at that time. About 1840 and for 10 or 15 years after a steady stream of German immigration flowed in. One steamboat landed 100 immigrants who shipped direct from Germany to Quincy. It was a common sight to find the entire landing covered by these families with their household goods of every description and perhaps among the scores of newcomers, not a single person able to understand our language.

There is not time to tell of the fine class of people who had been filling up the surrounding country. Many from Eastern states had descended from Revolutionary heroes and quite a number had ancestors who came in, or soon after, the Mayflower. Many also, were from Kentucky, Maryland and Virginia. Strong, sturdy brave men and women. These people beside building new homes, working hard in the fields and timber all day took time to organize and build churches and schools, that their children might have proper influences around them. In some parts of the country these were built earlier than those in Quincy. They founded their homes with high aspirations; with a high regard for religion and education, for law and for order.

JENNY BRADBURY LONG.

Read at Mrs. Reynolds, Nov. 9, 1912.

BEFORE THE WAR, 1845-1860.

I notice that Mr. Asbury in speaking of the killing of Joseph Smith, the Mormon prophet, on July 27, 1844, says that "While few in the community felt sympathy for the people, still the news of his death in jail created deep feeling and that perhaps no city in the Union has been so often the victim of adverse outside disturbances as Quincy. First because of our border location, the slavery question; then the Mormon question and then the war of the rebellion. But now that it is over, a retrospect of our history shows that we have been a forbearing, generous and loving people, giving shelter to all who came to us in time of trouble."

The census taken in 1845 showed an almost uniform doubling of the population during each five years since 1825. At that time some

twenty persons in the place and neighborhood, 350 in 1830, 753 in 1835, 1,850 in 1840, 4,000 in 1845, 7,000 in 1850, 10,000 in 1855 and its subsequent growth was 14,000 in 1860, 25,000 in 1870, only 27,000 in 1880, 31,000 in 1890, 36,000 in 1900 and then the less said concerning an increase the better. In 1845 the city council voted a salary to aldermen of \$2.00 for each regular and 50c for each special meeting; before this time they had been paid nothing. Urgent requests were made to the "city fathers" to organize a "night watch" but they decided that the city did not need it and could not afford the expense. During the preceding winter the city obtained from the Legislature the relinquishment of Railroad Street (now Broadway) and also secured from the United States the title to what is known as "Tow Head," containing then 207 acres, but much more now. About this time the city voted for additional taxes for public schools and issued seven \$100.00 bonds for the same purpose. The school trustees appropriated \$300.00 towards the erection of a public school building. Finding that the necessary cost of the building would be \$1,200.00 the council increased its appropriation by \$200.00 more. This was the first public school building in the city and was erected on the ground where afterwards stood the Franklin school. So the free school has been with us for seventy-five years. As early as 1841 they had here what was called the Underground Railway and it was a common thing for runaway slaves to come here for refuge. Indeed, it was understood that they would find here a haven. A man named Nelson from Missouri with considerable talent was untiring in his efforts to promote the cause of Christianity as he understood it, and also the cause of Christian education. He went East and with his great ability and energy, both as a speaker and conversationalist, he soon interested a number of people and raised some money with which to carry on his educational plans. The main idea was to educate young men for missionaries. Several branches of the original school called Institutions were established in the country, but the central school was established just outside of the then city limits, east of and near 24th st. The main building was a plain brick of not large dimensions, but it was surrounded by a number of small one story structures, called students lodges. For a time the Rev. Moses Hunter presided over the Institute; he was said to possess great knowledge and education, was a good Greek and Hebrew scholar and withal quite a superior man, and dressed himself in a sort of seamless robe in imitation of Christ. It soon became known that nearly all connected with the Institute were intense Abolitionists. Two young men from the school crossed the river in a skiff and were soon surrounded and captured by a large party of Missourians and were immediately committed to jail in Palmyra. Their accusation was "Nigger Thieves." They were accused and convicted and sent to the penitentiary for twelve years. By this time the people of Marion County had become well acquainted with the location and anti-slavery character of the Institute, and one night in the winter a crowd came over on the ice and burned the Institute to the ground. It was about this time that the public square was enclosed; before it had remained an open and neglected spot. Its enclosure created some comment and complaint among the people of the country. The farmer had considered it a good place upon which to feed his team, show off fine horses and as a sort of exchange. Early in

the 40's prompted by members of the Library Association, a club of ten gentlemen formed themselves into a Quincy Historical Club for the preservation of early historical events of the place. Some time after the city council passed a resolution that the subject of a history of Quincy should be recommended to the club, and it designated Peter Lott, E. J. Phillips and Henry Asbury to collect materials and prepare such history. This committee went to work and through interviews with old settlers as John Wood, Williard Keyes and others, collected and wrote down many items. They began with great interest as is usually the case. An introductory chapter was partly written by Judæ Lott and then stopped. Capt. Phillips went away and later Lott the same. And after the death of both, Mr. Asbury wrote his valuable book that means so much to all of us now. In 1846 Woodland cemetery was laid off with less than 40 acres; and eleven years afterwards something more than four acres were added to it, making about forty-three in all. An extensive sale of lots at once took place and by May (that was a month after) there had been three burials. During the succeeding fall and winter a great number of bodies were removed from 24th and Maine and Jefferson Square. In 1848 besides the daily stage mails from the East and semi-weekly mails to and from the adjoining counties, there was the twice a week mail from St. Louis by steamer. In this year the city limits were extended for the first time from Vine, Jefferson and 12th then called Wood Street, one hundred and twenty acres called Nevins addition lying between 12th, Broadway, 18th and Jersey. No addition was made again for ten years, when the north boundary was moved to Locust street, Harrison and 24th. One can scarcely realize that as late as 1847 there were but nine buildings between 12th and 24th. The first steamboat hull ever constructed here was built this year. It was set up at the foot of Delaware and launched on March 18. Telegraphic communication with the outside world was also established in the summer of this year. And the first city directory made its appearance; showing seven hotels, three breweries, five beer shops, five bakeries, six saddlers, three drug stores, thirteen tailors, seven confectioners, nine blacksmiths, thirteen churches, five private schools and fifteen lawyers. About this time Brazilli Clark, the first justice of the peace, tried a case and in his decision gave offense to one of the parties. A few days after while he was plowing in his field, the offended party came to him and gave him a dreadful cursing. For this he fined him for contempt of court. The case finally went to the Supreme Court and the fine was sustained. The chief attractions of the winters of this period were the library lectures. They constituted almost the sole source of revenue to the public library and were of weekly occurrence. They were "home made," that is they were prepared and delivered by our own citizens with an occasional, but very rare addition by some neighboring clergyman or Illinois college professor. They were given gratis and upon such subject as the writer chose. They were of much merit and well attended. They were given in the courthouse, so hall rent was free and only lights and fire had to be provided; and the winter course usually netted about two or three hundred dollars. Among the list of lecturers chosen for the year 1848-9 we find the names of John C. Cox, O. H. Browning, John Tillson, Jr., Rev. Foote, Judge Lott and others whose names are not so familiar. With such subjects as Progress

of Civilization, Since the Christian Era, The Future Exemplified by the Past, Early Settlement of the Mississippi Valley, The Saracen in Spain, Our Duties and Obligations in Reference to American Slavery. The prices for tickets were: Gentlemen, \$1.00; gentleman and lady, \$1.50; family of four, \$2.00; of six, \$3.00. And thus the library struggled on for forty-five years until the beginning of the 20th century when by the provision of a tax levy devoted to its support, its position was assured.

In 1849 the Asiatic cholera broke out and one of the first deaths was the mayor; probably four hundred cases in all. As late as 1851 it still prevailed and that year there were two hundred victims. The first railroad meeting was held at the courthouse in January, 1849. Some fine speeches were made and much interest manifested and work was begun on the C., B. & Q. in 1851. In 1850, C. M. Woods started the first daily newspaper. About this time real estate began looking up and sales were better and more numerous than for the past fifteen years. The two large lots at 12th and Maine where now stands the High and Webster schools and which had been offered the year before for \$500.00 were bought this year for school purposes for \$2,000.00. And some handsome private residences were also constructed, which feature had been sadly neglected in Quincy before. Up to this time there had been only the Wood, Keyes, Young and Browning mansions, the last erected in 1845 at a cost of \$30,000.00 and two or three others. The Leavitt house, afterward bought by Gen. Singleton and finally occupied by Judge Lawrence on Vermont and Eighth streets, and is now a portion of the convent, was considered the most pretentious in the city. At this time there were more people owning their own homes here than in any other town or city of the same grade in the West. And it is believed that this state of things has continued and still does exist at the present time. In this year the first private banking business was begun. And the temperance sentiment which at this time was all pervading throughout the country took possession of Quincy with a force unknown before or since. During 1851 the organization of a night police was made under the supervision of the mayor. And among the needed and imposing improvements was Kendall's Hall at the corner of 6th and Maine at a cost of \$20,000.00. This was the first public hall. Before this time the courthouse or the churches when they could be obtained, were the only conveniences for lectures, fairs and all exhibitions of this character. Quincy was much exercised now for the want of a "Nom de plume." All of the other cities in the land had their fancy names and she had none. The titles which seemed most appropriate for her as "Mound City" or "Bluffs City" had already been taken by St. Louis and Hannibal. It was proposed to call it Hill City, but that would have dwarfed it beside Hannibal. There were sixteen churches here at this time, a very large number in proportion to the population and it was seriously urged to have the place christened "The City of Churches," but this was a name that in all likelihood would not endure and had already been adopted elsewhere, so it ran on for some years until the name "Gem City" was assumed; why, how or for what reason it is difficult to say, though of course there are some appropriate points to warrant the title. A charter for the bridge company was procured at the legislative assembly of 1852-3. The requirements were, that the bridge should be commenced within three and finished within

six years, but it was not constructed for twelve years afterward. But the most notable occasion of the year and as Mr. Collins in his history puts it "the most shining event" was the completion of the gas works and the first lighting of the city on December first; and was celebrated by a general turning on of the gas in all the street lamps and private houses; and a general turning out of all the people into the streets to see how the city and themselves looked; and also by a banquet at the Quincy House. There was a capital stock of seventy-five thousand dollars and a local contract made with the city for twenty-five years. The greater portion of the stock was owned by a man from St. Louis who for a long time controlled the affairs of the company. There were sixty-five street lamps, one hundred and fifty meters, and three and one half miles of street mains and by 1857, three years later, there were seven miles of mains, two hundred and forty street lamps and two hundred and eighty meters.

As early as 1854 some forty steamboats ran regularly from St. Louis to Quincy passing here in the up river trade. During the navigation season of ten months, there were registered 1,350 steamboat landings averaging about five arrivals each day. Quincy was celebrated at that time for the excellence of its hotels. They were then acknowledged to be decidedly superior to those of any other city on the river north of St. Louis in every particular. In 1855 the city limits were extended to Harrison street on the south, Locust on the north and twenty-fourth, or as it was called Orange, on the east. Two years later, in '57 the boundaries were put at their present limit. In 1855 a charter for water works was obtained but nothing resulted from it. Ten years later another for the same purpose passed the Legislature, but did not receive the executive approval and it was not until ten years further on that this enterprise was permanently established. A charter was obtained for the Woodland Orphans' Home. This was begun in 1853 when fifteen citizens pledged one hundred dollars apiece toward the purchase of the ground. The land was bought of Gov. Wood for \$1,500.00 being the block owned by the Home on south 5th street and from that time on the institution has flourished and done untold good. Probably the most destructive fire that had yet attacked the city was on the 20th of October, 1854, when Thayer's large distillery with many of its surroundings were destroyed. The damage was estimated at \$50,000.00 with little insurance. The second annual meeting of the Adams County Fair Association was held in the fall of this year. It was a great advance on the previous year, being a success to which the city and county contributed; and it attracted attention from all the surrounding section, both on this and the other side of the river. It soon ranked among the best of the Illinois county fairs. By this time there were five military companies in Quincy, all in a flourishing condition, so that when the war broke out a few years later the place was very fairly equipped to organize a regular militia. Much building was done in the city this year; to give an idea of it, I quote from one of the papers published at that time. "As one of the evidences of the progress and prosperity of Quincy, there are contracts made for laying nearly two million of brick in buildings to be erected in the city this season. The supply of brick is entirely inadequate to meet the demand. Good brick command a high price, say five to six dollars a thousand and all now made or in the

kiln are engaged." In 1856 the third big hotel was commenced. There had been the Quincy House in 1836 and the City Hotel afterward, the Virginia and now came the Cather House named for its owner and proprietor and located on the site of the old Judge Young residence, which afterward, much enlarged became the Tremont. During this year one hundred and ten thousand barrels of flour were made here, 550,000 bushels of wheat used. The average price of flour was \$6.50, of wheat \$1.00 per bushel. How does this compare with our prices of today, more than half a century later?

Several disastrous fires occurred in the early part of '56 some of them in business and central sections of the city, one at the northeast corner of the square; the loss was severe to some of the occupants, but the gain to the city was great. The same enterprising impulse which many years before, when the old log courthouse caught fire, induced the happy spectators to throw on more kindling, was gratified to see the "old rookeries" go, with the prospect of their being replaced by better structures. Another result of these fortunate misfortunes was to increase precautions against fire. The enumeration of houses was in 1857 for the first time ordered by the council and it was an amusing absurdity. It prescribed that each twenty-five feet of lineal curbstone should constitute a number, that First Street should be the base for its running east and west. The figures alternated across the street every twenty-five feet. This part has continued, but some dozen years later, the convenient, so called Philadelphia, system was adopted, which makes the initial figure of each house number to correspond with the initial figures of the street bounding the block; and the streets running north and south to begin at Broadway and State. This proved so perfectly absurd and confusing that it was finally abandoned and Maine street was made the base from which to number north and south. In other words as they simplify it in teaching in the schools, the even numbers are on the right hand side of the street going from the river and from Maine, at the rate of one hundred to a block. On the title page of the Quincy Directory for 1857-8 is the residence, the new one of Gov. Wood and on through the pages appear other illustrations such as "English and German Male and Female Seminary," now Jefferson schoolhouse. A fancy clock with "J. W. Brown, Fashionable Jewelry." Two large buildings on the east side of the square with signs on them reading "Jansen and Smith, Furniture" and "Comstock and Co., Stoves and Tinware." A goddess of liberty with "Hedges & Duff, Forwarding Merchants, 50 Front St." Another "Forwarding Merchant" has a steamboat in full sail as his ad. A queer looking old time carryall and chaise with "Weaver & Miller." A man resembling Atlas only instead of the world on his shoulders, a mammoth stove and "H. Ridder & Co., Tin, Copper, Sheet iron, China, Glass and Queensware, 127 Maine St." "Whig Office, 38, 4th St. Terms, Daily, \$5.00; Tri-weekly, \$3.00." Then "The Albion, Mumby proprietor, East Quincy a pleasant resort for ladies and gentlemen, a distance of two miles from the city Buffet." Then a weird picture of a tomb with weeping women standing around, draped in mourning and underneath this notice, "All kinds of produce taken at market prices for work." In 1858 the place was somewhat scourged and still more terribly scared by smallpox, during the summer and again in the fall. But the episode of the year was a rattling earthquake

shock in July which pervaded the Mississippi Valley and was pronounced as the most severe of any that had shaken up the country since the famous one of 1811. Probably one of the most important events that ever took place in the city occurred during this fall. That was the celebrated Lincoln and Douglas debate, but because of its recent celebration here a few years ago it will not be necessary to go into any details concerning it.

A marked increase appeared about this time in foreign immigration, which had fallen off of late years. This was almost entirely German. They had first made their appearance here in 1833-4 and from 1836 to '39 a large settlement of Irish came in. These mostly remained and a large percentage of the Irish families of the city now, count back their coming to that date. Later on about 1840 and for ten or fifteen years a steady stream of Germans flowed in, then it gradually decreased, but now for some reason it had revived again. One steamer landed one hundred immigrants who had shipped direct from Germany to Quincy. It had become a common sight to find in the early morning the entire public landing covered by these families with their household goods of every description. Some articles so cumbrous that the cost of transportation infinitely exceeded their value. And not a single person able to speak or understand a word of our language. It was in 1859 that two private schools or colleges were established here. Gov. Wood gave the ground at 12th and State and Mr. Keyes at 8th and Vine. They were very excellent schools and continued for several years. Amusements kept pace with other advances. And a theatre with regular performances six evenings in a week was a leading contribution in that line. The city by this time had taken long steps toward a metropolitan appearance and had for that period quite a city air. There were ten visitors this year when there had been one before. It was not longer than five years before, whenever a stranger made his appearance the whole community, village like would note his coming, inquire and soon find out who he was, what he was after and so on. Not so now. This year marked a social change in that respect that was permanent. People came and went with as little notice as they did in larger places or as they do here today. Quincy now, thirty-two years from its foundation and seventeen from its incorporation as a city, fully exhibited the characteristics of such and felt itself to be one.

JULIA SIBLEY.

DURING THE WAR.

Quincy next to Cairo was the most important military point in the State. The line of military effort between the loyal and the slave states reached from the Potomac River westward across West Virginia and Kentucky to Cairo, thence bent northward to the Iowa line and thence westward to Nebraska and Kansas. After Cairo was occupied the next movement of the army was to secure the control of Missouri. Quincy situated on the extreme western edge of Illinois longitudinally projecting into the State of Missouri thus became of great strategetic importance.

Public opinion however, was not entirely in favor of the war at this time in Quincy. For a large part of the citizens had come from south of the Ohio River bringing with them their idea that slavery was the nor-

mal condition of the negro, therefore there was much non-union sentiment. The Quincy Herald of April 10, 1861 had these words: "The slave states have gone out of the Union or those that have not already done so will most likely do so soon; when that takes place the Republicans will not be able to rally the thousands of deluded men who have followed them with the cry of no more slave states or down with slavery." The Herald had a very poor idea of the temper of the northeastern states at that time. Instead of rallying by the thousand they rallied by the million. And out of a population of about 41,000 Quincy sent to the war 2,300 men.

Quincy was the point where the national army made its rendezvous, effected its organization and from here they crossed the river to take possession of the northern part of Missouri, while forces organized in St. Louis should take possession of the southern part. Quincy thus became a center of great military activity. Companies gathered here from various parts of the State to be organized into regiments. Steamers passed down the river loaded with soldiers from Iowa, Wisconsin and Minnesota. Orators made patriotic speeches and ministers preached patriotic sermons. Mechanics were busy making munitions of war. Women were organizing to make provision for the sick and wounded. The effect of the shot fired at Ft. Sumpter is indescribable. That shot united the entire North. Immediately after the proclamation was issued calling for troops, a meeting of the citizens of Quincy and vicinity was called at the courthouse which was packed to its utmost capacity. Recruiting was begun by the "Guards" and in less than twenty-four hours over a hundred men were enrolled. These left immediately for Cairo under command of Capt. Prentiss. Capt. Morgan accompanied them on crutches; 10,000 people accompanied them to the train on which they were to leave. The crowd sang the Star Spangled Banner and with much cheering they left on their flag-decorated train. To be followed later by the remaining number of the 2,300 men that went from Quincy.

Special efforts were made to raise an Adams County regiment and on Sept. 16 one was mustered into service, with M. M. Bane as Colonel and Wm. Swarthout as Lieutenant Colonel. This regiment was the pet of Adams County. It was nicknamed "The Blind Half Hundred." Its record showed that it was anything but blind. It began its services in Missouri then went to Cairo, thence to Forts Henry and Donelson. It was in the battle at Shiloh at Corinth and at Allatoona and then marched with Sherman to the sea. It participated in the grand review at Washington. Ordered to Louisville to be mustered out, it won the prize banner in a competitive drill with the 63d Illinois and the 7th Iowa Infantry.

In the same month of September, Edward Prince proposed to raise a Cavalry Company and he was made Colonel of the 7th Illinois Cavalry. Col. W. A. Richardson was tendered command of a "Kentucky Brigade." The three months volunteers returning in August were tendered a most enthusiastic reception and they immediately reenlisted for three years.

During the next spring and early summer Quincy began to see the results of active campaigns, in sickness, wounds and death. In the autumn of 1862 the horrors of war had chilled much of the enthusiasm

of this vicinity. About this time there were about 800 soldiers in the hospitals in the city. At this time efforts were made to induce the negroes to enlist. Many went from Quincy, some with Col. Gross and some joined a Massachusetts regiment. There were 903 in Colonel Gross' regiment which made a glorious record.

In the spring of 1864 Ohio, Indiana, Iowa and Illinois believing the war near its close tendered the Government a force of 85,000 men to relieve the veteran force of guard duty. In response the 137th Infantry was mustered in here at Camp Wood, Gov. John Wood being made Colonel. For the last call for soldiers it was necessary to make a draft. There being so much "Copperhead" sentiment in Adams County, we can understand how this announcement was received. But with the fall of Richmond there was again much enthusiasm and many of the Copperheads were converted.

I can only mention a few incidents of this exciting period. There was much military activity across the river, as Palmyra was a hot-bed of secession. Green and Porter were industriously organizing companies for Confederate service. Union men were being put out of the way, many were being driven from their homes. It was feared that a raid might at any time be made upon Quincy so companies of Home Guards were organized in each ward, over 100 in a company. They at once began target practice. Gen. McNeil was placed in charge of the Union forces in Palmyra. There was much political disorder and lawlessness in Palmyra at that time. Union men had been severely treated by Southern sympathizers but Gen. McNeil brought order out of disorder with an iron hand. He caused fourteen secessionists to be arrested and held as hostages for the return of some prominent Union men. Unless these Union men were returned these fourteen were to be shot. As these Union men could not be returned, having been put out of the way previously his order was executed.

This summary proceeding restored order and taught the citizens that in the future Union men were not to be molested. Many considered his order too severe and socially Gen. McNeil was ostracized even after the war when he returned to his home in St. Louis. And yet the people had to be taught that military orders must be obeyed.

On the 12th of July, Col. U. S. Grant arrived here and went into camp with his men at West Quincy. It is interesting to note this is the place where the man who was finally to bring the war to a successful termination, first stepped upon hostile territory. While he was stationed here the "Needle Pickets" sent a pillowcase full of lint and bandages for the use of his regiment. Mrs. C. H. Morton carried it to the boat and delivered it in person to Col. Grant. He thanked the ladies through her and putting the bundle under his arm carried it on to the boat himself.

The soldiers were encamped at three different points in the city while the army was being organized. Camp Wood was first located at 5th and Locust which place was then covered with small oaks and hazel-brush. This point becoming too small Camp Wood was then moved to "the prairie" at a point where now Oak St. extends beyond 14th St. Another camp was located east of Woodland Cemetery.

Temporary hospitals were established here for the sick and wounded. The chair factory at 5th and Ohio was used for one and

at one time Jefferson School was used. There were four others. At one time there were about 800 soldiers in these hospitals. There were two organizations of women, the "Needle Pickets" and the "Good Samaritans" who were very active in providing comforts for those in the hospitals here and also in forwarding things to the front. They raised money by the thousands.

BUSINESS.

What we now consider as wonderful is that business was so prosperous during the war. Local contractors were busy in making accoutrement for infantry, cavalry and artillery. The Government Clothing Hall used 360,000 yards of blue kersey, made 250,000 pair of pants and made shirts and drawers in like proportion. The Greenleaf Foundry made cannon, another firm made knapsacks. Then as now Quincy was noted for its manufactures. Mr. Robt. Gardner had already patented his celebrated Automaton Steam governor, which is in demand everywhere. In the manufacture of stoves and hollow-ware, Quincy was second to no city west of Pittsburg. At this time there were five tobacco factories here but these have since been merged into the trust. There were also ten flour mills, now there are only four. There was one hoop skirt manufactory. There must have been a veritable boom here following the war as I note that 500 buildings were erected in one year. The population in 1860 was about 14,000 and in the next ten years it was nearly doubled.

CITY OFFICIALS.

In the year 1861, I. O. Woodruff was Mayor. On his resignation that year Thomas Redmond filled the vacancy and continued to be re-elected until 1864. Geo. F. Waldhaus was elected in 1865. A board of Fire Engineers was established in 1865 and E. M. Miller was placed at the head. There was no Chief of Police until 1867. From that time until 1904 the members were appointed by the Council, one from each ward. Thomas Jasper was the first president. Then I. O. Woodruff held the office for the next four years. Hope L. Davis was Superintendent of Schools from 1860 to 1864. A. W. Blakesley filled the office in 1865.

SCHOOLS.

Irving School was built in 1864 at a cost of \$5,400. Jackson was built in 1866 at a cost of \$12,000. This building destroyed by a tornado in 1875 was immediately rebuilt at a cost of \$6,000. (Now being torn down (1913) to be replaced by one which is to cost about \$40,000.) The High School was first established in 1864. It was held in the Centre School which then occupied the old Unitarian Church at 6th and Jersey. In 1866 it was transferred to the Jackson School, later it was transferred to the Franklin School where it remained until removed to the present building at 12th and Maine St. A. W. Starkey was its first principal.

CHURCHES.

Of the Protestant Churches in existence at this period the First Congregational is the oldest. It was organized in 1828. During the war period they were occupying two churches, one at 4th and Jersey and the other at 5th and Jersey. Ground was bought for the present struct-

ure at 12th and Maine in 1869. This society first occupied a building on 4th St. between Maine and Jersey 22 feet by 26. It was commonly known as "The Lord's Barn" and was the scene of a prominent episode in the early history of Quincy. Rev. Samuel Hopkins Emery was its pastor in war times. At the time of the death of Lincoln he was residing at the southeast corner of 8th and Spring St. The large white maple tree in the front yard was planted by him on the day of Lincoln's assassination.

The Methodist Society was organized in 1833. Their first church was located on Vermont St. opposite the present courthouse. It was known as the "Old Fort." This being too small it was sold and in 1865 they occupied the old Kendall Hall at 6th and Maine until it was destroyed by fire in 1867. The society bought the ground for their present church in 1865.

Next oldest is St. John's Parish organized in 1837. The present edifice was erected in 1853 and enlarged in 1868. The Presbyterian Society was organized in 1839. Their first building was on the south side of Maine St. between 6th and 7th. They were holding services here in the time of the war as their present church was not built until 1879. The Unitarian Church was organized in 1840. The building where they are now holding services was built in 1858. It is one of the few churches now standing that was built before the war. (Since the above was written this church is being torn down, the ground to be occupied by business houses.)

The First Baptist Church was organized in 1835. They occupied a small frame building on 4th St. between Hampshire and Vermont. They bought their present building of the Congregationalists in 1869, for \$26,500. This is one of the oldest, if not the oldest church building now standing.

In 1856, 38 members withdrew from the above society and formed the Vermont St. Baptist. Their present church was built just previous to 1860.

The Christian Church was organized in 1850, but had no church building during this period.

The Evangelical Lutheran Church of St. John is the oldest of the German church societies in the city dating as far back as 1837. Their church is located at 325 South 7th St.

The German M. E. Church was founded in 1844. Their first church home was at 514 Jersey, on which site a new church was built in 1854. This building has recently been used as a natatorium. The present church is at 8th and Kentucky.

Salem Evangelical began to hold services in rented rooms in 1848. In that same year Gov. Wood gave them the lot on which their present church stands. The first building was 48 feet long and 36 feet wide. An addition to the church was built in 1863. The present church was built in 1876 and 1877. Over 4,000 souls are ministered to from this church.

St. Jacobi Lutheran was organized in 1851. Its first building is still standing at the corner of 7th and Jersey. Its present church at 8th and Washington was erected in 1866. It has had only two pastors until very recently.

The German Baptist was organized in 1853 but I see no record of their having a church until 1873. Their present church building is at 10th and Washington.

At this time there were only three Catholic Churches in Quincy, St. Boniface as it now stands and a small church on Vine street belonging to the St. Francis congregation and St. Peter's at 8th and Main.

There was one church occupied by colored people during the war. It was on the site of their present Methodist church and was built in 1863. This was burned in 1866, but soon after they built the present church.

The 8th and Elm St. Baptist Society was organized in 1865, but they had no church building then. In 1866 they bought one at 8th and Jersey. In the early sixties there were but 13 churches in Quincy, by 1869 there were 25. There are now 38.

HOSPITALS AND HOMES.

Temporary hospitals were established here during the war. St. Mary's Hospital had been incorporated but the main building was not erected until 1867. It was then said to be the most imposing building in the city. Woodland Home Association and St. Aloysius Orphan Association had both been incorporated but neither one had homes until 1867. Woodland Home then bought at 5th and Washington and St. Aloysius had erected their present building. This and the Lindsay Home were the only ones occupying their own homes. The city now has 14 charitable organizations owning their own homes.

BANKS.

The Quincy Savings Bank of 1857 was in 1864 merged into the First National Bank with C. M. Pomeroy as President. In 1864 the Merchants' and Farmers' National Bank was organized with Lorenzo Bull as president. In one of the newspapers of this time is the following: "Perhaps one of the safest and most successful private banking houses in Illinois is that of H. F. J. Ricker of this city, established in 1860." Another newspaper item is this: "The Union Bank of Quincy occupies one of the handsomest structures in the city and has every modern convenience for security and speed in the transaction of its business."

Hotels were much more numerous in those days than at the present time for I find that Quincy then had 28; at present there are but one-half that number. There were four restaurants then, now 30.

One event took place in 1864-5 that was of especial interest to this city. At that session of the Legislature, Thomas Redmond, a representative from Adams County succeeded in procuring the reenactment of the act of incorporation for the building of a bridge here across the Mississippi River. John Wood succeeded in obtaining the sanction of the National Government. The incorporators were John Wood, Samuel Thomas, James M. Pitman and Nehemiah Bushnell. The last named was made president of the bridge company. The bridge was completed in 1868.

The business interests of Quincy had always been very intimately associated with the Hannibal and St. Joseph R. R. Largely by Quincy capital this branch of the road running from Quincy to Palmyra had

been built before the war, but through some legal technicality it could not be connected to the main line. Not a car could be moved from one track to the other. During the war (1862) Gen. McNeil ordered the two roads to be connected, as a military necessity to the convenience of succeeding generations.

The old depot which stood upon Front St. between Hampshire and Vermont was built in 1864. At that time it was said to be the finest, with one exception, west of Cincinnati.

An event of nation-wide importance at this time was the establishment of the Railway Mail Service on the Hannibal and St. Joseph R. R. Mr. Wm. L. Davis was the originator of the idea. The first postal cars were built in Hannibal. Mr. John Patton a life-long resident of Quincy with Mr. Davis and Fred Harvey sorted mail on the first train that ever carried a postal car.

This was the beginning of the immense business now performed by the Post-Office Department upon the railroads.

EMILY M. BRADFORD.

Read at Mrs. Henry's March 8, 1913.

QUINCY AFTER THE WAR, 1865-1880.

We have a complete history of Quincy from the founding or making to the present time, the close of the war. As Mr. Asbury says in his book, this is the most difficult chapter to write. I find this is true as I am not a native of either Quincy or Adams County, and know very little except from what I have been able to copy. Quincy was not materially injured by the war. We find she made rapid progress in business. Taking first the situation, there is no city that has a more beautiful site to be founded upon. From 1866 "Quincy is a city with city ways." (Asbury.) She has made progress not only in the increase of population. The true worth of a city is measured, Quincy presents facts justifying prices. Overlooking the grand old Mississippi it presents a view unsurpassed by many other cities.

"A city of homes" the large number of tasteful and elegant residences are very much in evidence and steadily increasing.

1865. A man named Rose was shot and killed (or hanged) I should say, by some soldiers in the hospital, aided by some of the inhabitants. He was a "Bushwhacker" and accused of having shot a man named Wimble, a citizen of Marcelline. The only thing that was of any importance to tell will be first,

1866. The city that had always had a "fire brigade" used by hand for many years thought best to improve it and secured a steam fire engine.

1867. The railroad bridge was commenced to span the Mississippi River at a cost of \$1,800,000. There were 1,898 steamboats passed through that season. This bridge was a grand piece of workmanship of modern construction. The river has always been to the inhabitants along its margin and especially to Quincy, an object of interest. Before the railroads were built it was the only means of transportation or carrier of freight.

1867. The first street railroad operated by "horsepower" was opened. It commenced at the old post office on Maine street, to the

northern limits of the city, by way of Fifth street. It was called the Quincy Street Railway and Carrying Company.

1867. Fire destroyed the old City Hall on corner of Maine and 6th St. This same year, May 6, another fire at the corner of 4th and Maine destroyed the Jerald Building with other leading interests. This fire was disastrous, involving a loss of \$200,000.

1868-9. State Fair was held here. The Fair grounds were what is now Baldwin Park.

1872. Water works were commenced, much discussion was caused among the people who knew very little about the actual cost and expense of running this system. They felt they were being charged too much and a great deal of discontent prevailed. Having gotten along to the place where we can boast of a good fire department we are compelled to have water, then beside this, it is a necessity, for use in private homes.

1874. Fire on Maine St. between 6th and 7th occurred—a loss of \$28,000.00. This was the year of the great bank robbery. The vault of the First National Bank was broken open and a large amount of money and a number of bonds were taken; there was never a trace of the guilty party.

1879. The fire at corner of 8th and Broadway destroyed the Presbyterian Church. It was in January, the temperature was 19° below zero. This loss was \$38,000.00.

The same year the "Quincy Academy of Music" was burned. This loss was \$68,000. A man by the name of Lanky was killed by falling from a telephone pole.

The business interests of Quincy are very extensive, there being now about 1,500 business houses, shops and places of dealing beside every kind of trade. The dry goods business is very extensive, both wholesale and retail.

The enterprise and merits of the magnificent industries have made markets in all parts of the world, which are enlarging with profit and fame. Taking into consideration the manufacturing advantage of a city there are two things to be looked at; the degree of cheapness with which things are produced and the facilities with which they are distributed through the country.

Quincy has the best advantage of intercourse with other countries and points; through the railroads and the river we may go or send to any point with dispatch or receive all we need or use of products of the United States or Europe. From our depot we may start and reach without unreasonable change any point in our broad land, Northern Lakes, Gulf of Mexico, Atlantic Ocean or Pacific and far lands in the East or West, having eight railroads and the grand river as a means of transportation.

In 1880 the population is said to be 30,000, but the time has come and passed for recording names and countries from which men came. To be a citizen of Quincy is now the first importance. The general public has little concern as to where a man comes from or was born, to be a good and honest man is of more importance. Quincy in her municipal government, like other cities, has not always elected her best men to office. They are seldom willing to accept men of business who have their own private affairs to look after, and these elections have been

allowed to fall into the hands of those least interested in the prosperity of the city, the salary being the first considered. Next in civilized community came education and learning. One of the best features of the times is the attempt to extend the advantages of education to all classes of people. This is the purpose of the common or public school system, which are within the reach of all. Quincy is well fixed in this respect, but is not without other institutions of learning. The City of Churches—but these have been written of so will not touch them again.

The records of individual attainments is no less pleasing. "Quincy has not lacked in need of ability" once remarked a venerable Premier and the evidence of that ability has not been limited to local affairs. It has been in the State Bar, Legislature, in the Halls of Congress, United States Senate, in medicine and in other learned professions. In pulpit, drama, authorship, music, hard fought battlefields and in all the honorable walks of life is found evidence of ability of notable men and women of Quincy.

ADDIE M. NOLL.

Read at Mrs. Giswindener's, April, 1912.

QUINCY, 1880-1913.

With the opening of 1880 we find a thriving city of 27,000 inhabitants all of them thriving and industrious. In 1883 the State Legislature passed a law allowing a special tax of three mills each for lighting, water and sewers. This had a notably good effect on Quincy, whose revenue previously had been so inadequate as to lead to serious results. These included a debt repudiation movement which was stopped by the courts with the result that the city had to pay the costs as well as the indebtedness.

In 1887 the city began a year of local improvement, of great importance to the city in the way of sewer work and street paving. The first brick street paving was laid on the east side of Washington Park in the spring of 1887. An average of 2 miles a year was laid for four years at a cost of \$65,000 a year though not all of it was brick. This takes us up to 1891 when the State Legislature at the instance of a bunch of private citizens passed a law which put a stop to extensive improvements.

This law required the consent of owners representing half the property frontage before sewer or paving could be done by special taxation. There was an amendment made to obviate this but it was proved to be unconstitutional. The unfortunate effect of this law of 1891 was the stoppage of much sewer building by the city to which the city had planned to contribute \$10,000 a year out of the general taxes. There had been in the four year improvement era very little sewer work done, not nearly so much as was called for by the public and private needs.

In 1888 the Quincy Boulevard and Park Association was incorporated. The revenue for this work was derived first from membership fees of \$5.00 per year and private subscriptions and later by the association framing laws which were later passed to levy a special tax of from one to three mills for park and boulevard purposes. Quincy is noted for her beautiful parks laid in a chain about the city the value of which officially estimated must be nearly \$300,000.

The history of Quincy's bonded indebtedness is said to be very interesting although far from creditable and as it was beyond my understanding I'll not enter into its details, but I advise all women inclined to suffrage to investigate the matter before casting their ballot.

The plan by which the city was to own the water works is another complicated matter, which would take too much time to work out in this short paper; suffice it to know that since the city conceived a plan by which they could own the water works system, the citizens are paying the same price for water and drinking filth with the outcome still unsettled. One of the things which works to our advancement is the Upper Mississippi River Improvement Association. This was organized in 1902 by a committee of Quincy citizens who waited upon Mayor Townsend then in charge of the Government work on the river north of St. Louis. Its work is wholly in the interest of commerce of the five states, contiguous to the upper river. It recognizes no local scheme, the permanent improvement of the upper river is its theme and it has met with excellent results and its influence bids fair to secure from the National Government needed appropriations which will establish a depth of 6 feet at low water in the channel. The fact that the plan for this commission originated in Quincy makes its citizens proud of her advancement, for with the river improvement so that there can be steady operation of the boats it will not be long till the middle West will float cargoes to the gulf and outward through the Panama Canal to the markets of the world.

June 18, 1900 the Quincy Chamber of Commerce was evolved from the Young Men's Business Association, the latter having been organized in 1887. It has been a sort of open parliament for the discussion of matters pertaining to the commercial and general welfare of the city.

The Quincy freight bureau was organized in 1897. While much of its work is not seen by the general public, the Q. F. B. is known all over the country and has the respect of the railroads as well as the various kindred organizations of the country.

The Civic Improvement Association was organized in 1909, and incorporated under the laws of Illinois; all citizens public spirited are eligible for a small fee. The work of the Civic League has been noticeable for the many good changes brought about. The removing of the old time awning of "Ye ancient Quincy" is not the least of its efforts, but the association expect to accomplish greater things this year. Through their efforts the back yards have been exposed and a systematic cleaning demanded, next we want clean streets and front door yards and we are going after it this year in dead earnest, together with the garbage can. Something different must be arranged for the garbage if we want to be a clean, healthy city and we look to the Civic League to carry out our wishes in the matter.

The Quincy Horse Railway and Carrying Company was created by an act of the State Legislature and approved February 11, 1865. The change from horse power to electricity was made January, 1891. The present owners known as the McKinley Syndicate secured control in the fall of 1898 and have transformed and extended its system until we can today travel over 20 miles for the small amount of 5c or 4c if we buy a book of six, twelve or twenty-four tickets for \$.25, \$.50, or \$1.00.

The Quincy Gas Light and Coke Company was organized in 1853. The Thompson Houston Electric Light and Power Company was organized in 1882 and was consolidated with the other plants by the McKinley interest in 1898.

The Empire Light and Power Company was instituted in 1895, which continued till 1898 when it with the others was merged into the present Quincy Gas and Electric Company and purchased by the J. T. Lynn and associates of Detroit, Michigan in 1903. When the first company was formed gas was furnished for \$4.00 per thousand; it has gradually been reduced till today we pay but \$1.00 per thousand feet and everybody uses it for cooking at that figure, while for lighting our homes, electricity is used largely, the gas being too poor for anything but fuel.

In keeping with its general progress Quincy's educational progress has kept pace. It is claimed that our schools will compare favorably with those of the best class of cities of Quincy's size. While our colleges have won widespread and deserved recognition. We have 12 grade and one high school. Lincoln is for the colored children and is one of the 12 grade schools and located in their district and many of the grades are crowded, even with the number of schools provided. The public school system of the United States is claimed the finest and best in the world.

The corner stone of our present Public Library was laid the afternoon of May 31, 1888. The building was opened as a free Public Library and reading room June 24, 1889.

Quincy hotels have come to the front during this time. The Newcomb was built on the site of the old Quincy House, 4th and Maine, the latter being burned on the night of January 19, 1883. It was built by a company of stockholders and has proved a good investment, always having been under good tenants. At present it is run on the European plan.

The new "Quincy" built on the old "Tremont" site on Hampshire between Fifth and Sixth is a later building, built out of concrete and claimed to be entirely fireproof: it too is on the European plan and very much up-to-date in all particulars.

The "Hasse Hotel" another of modern type is located at 3d and Oak and it, like the others, is run on the European order. These are the most prominent, yet there are others as well as a great many boarding houses all of which do a thriving business during the present high cost of living.

Our churches are many, most all denominations being represented.

The congregation of St. John's Catholic Church was established in the year 1880 and the corner stone of the present structure was laid in 1895 and dedicated February 14, 1899. It is a beautiful stone building, built in pure roman style.

The first society of Christian Scientists was organized June 30, 1889, and the church duly organized September 28, 1891, and incorporated under the State law of Illinois; they apparently had little of the struggle attendant in such organizations but were flourishing from the start and at present occupy a fine building at 18th and Vermont streets.

The Luther Memorial Church was organized July 19, 1891, in the old police station at 8th and Maine. The society was formed to supply what many felt to be a much needed addition to the religious force of the city of Quincy, namely a Lutheran Church using the English language. Two years later the congregation bought the lot at the corner of 12th and Jersey and a large stone church was built costing with the lot about \$28,000.00.

The "St. Rose of Lima" congregation was taken out of St. Peters the latter being divided and the northern portion formed the St. Rose of Lima Church. The building was of brick, the first floor being used as a school and the second as a church. Now this building is used entirely as a school and a new church has been built out of buff brick on the corner of Eighth and Chestnut with the same priest, Father Brennan, as when it was organized 21 years ago.

The first "United Brethren" church was completed and dedicated in 1895. It is a frame structure on the corner of 6th and Cedar and is valued at \$4,700. It is in a flourishing condition and manages to keep in good running order.

The Unitarian Society whose church has been on Maine between 6th and 7th disposed of their property last year and bought ground to build a new church at 16th and Hampshire. The building is to be of stone and concrete after the old English style of architecture and will make a fine addition to the corner and that part of the city. It is now under way of construction and they hope to dedicate it when church opens in the fall.

The churches above mentioned only refer to the more modern, either in organization or building, but Baptists, Methodists, both German and English, Congregational and Christian have long had homes in Quincy.

The Quincy National Bank was founded in 1887. The State Street Bank in 1890 and in the last few years the Mercantile Trust and Savings Bank, The Illinois and The Broadway Bank have been given a local position of prominence and further shows that there is business for all in this silurian spot of Quincy founded nearly 90 years ago (1825). The strength of our banks was well illustrated during the general panic of 1883 when banks all over the country were badly shaken, the safety of Quincy banks remained unquestioned.

Blessing Hospital incorporated in 1873 and opened in May, 1875, was enlarged in 1895 at an expense of \$14,500; in 1903 further enlargement became necessary and a home for the nurses became imperative. This was all done at an expense of \$30,000, making Blessing Hospital one of the most modern and best arranged hospitals outside of Chicago.

The training school for nurses was established in 1891 and is most successful. Blessing Hospital has a small endowment which was begun by Mrs. Denman's bequest of \$4,000 in March, 1883.

St. Mary's Hospital under the care of the Sisters of the Poor of St. Francis has met with a like experience and had several additions from time to time. In 1900 an addition was erected at a cost of \$40,000 making it now one of the best hospitals in the West. The value of its building and grounds is more than \$100,000. St. Mary's has no endowment but depends solely on the benevolence of those who have come to appreciate its good work; but both hospitals have what they call "Tag day" when the community is called upon by the ladies of the board

and their helpers to buy a tag for the good cause for which you can pay any sum you feel inclined from 10c up and in this way several thousands will be donated which goes a long way toward expenses of the work.

Woodland Home, one of our noted charities, was organized by a few ladies in January, 1853, for the purpose of assisting the worthy poor and ultimately building a home for destitute widows and orphans. This institution has grown and expanded until today it has commodious quarters at 27th and Maine St. The funds to pay for the land and also the present building was mostly solicited from the citizens of Quincy. The same costing \$17,000. The institution has received gifts and bequests until now the income from the fund is about one-third ($1/3$) of the current expenses the balance being made up of donations.

The Old Peoples' Home (German) at 418 Washington Street was founded May 15, 1890, the original building was donated by Charles Pfeiffer but three extensions have been added to the building and the present valuation is \$25,000. It is supported by the German M. E. conference.

St. Vincent's Home at 1340 N. 10th Street was founded in 1884 by the Sisters Poor Handmaids of Jesus Christ of Ft. Wayne, Indiana. Four blocks of ground were bought in Cox addition for \$7,000. The first building addition to the old Cox home was dedicated September 8, 1885, and cost \$10,000. The home was opened before this, April 4, 1885, with three inmates. It now has 130 besides 16 sisters. The present building cost \$45,000 and was dedicated November 14, 1897.

Mrs. Anna E. Brown, widow of Charles Brown died in Quincy, October 22, 1893. In her will she provided for the establishment of a home for the aged to which she devised her home at 5th and Maple streets and endowed it with interest bearing securities worth \$55,000, thus was founded the Anna Brown Home for the Aged. About \$18,000 was spent for new buildings and other improvements in 1897, and the house was opened in January, 1898. Acceptable applicants are admitted only and an entrance fee of \$300 at that time has been raised to \$500. The house has a membership of 21 and under the care of Miss Lida Henry is a home of happiness and contentment that isn't often found. The grounds are spacious with a plot in the rear for gardening and some of the inmates look after it and enjoy the labor as well as the fresh fruit and garden products in their time.

The Cheerful Home was founded in 1887 by Miss Cornelia Collins a young woman of noble character and unselfishness. Its object was to furnish a pleasant evening resort for a class of boys who might otherwise be on the streets; while this object has not been lost sight of, the scope of its work has been extended with great value to both girls and boys to whom regular class instructions in domestic science, sewing, manual training and kindergarten are given daily. The first meeting place was 215 North 4th St. but in the spring Mr. Lorenzo Bull bought the Wells home place on 5th and Jersey for \$5,000 and donated it to the Home, later he added a gymnasium equipped at a cost of \$6,000 and this now benefits hundreds of boys and girls and plans are being made to still further enlarge the good work.

The Quincy Humane Society was incorporated under the name of Quincy Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, July 20, 1880.

When Anna E. Brown died she left a will bequeathing the society an amount between \$14,000 and \$15,000. The income from this has enabled the society to greatly enlarge its work.

The Young Men's Christian Association at 9th and State was organized in 1893 and their building cost \$32,000. It was recently sold to the Labor Unions and after being remodeled serves as a place of meeting for the different union organizations of the city.

In 1911, Quincy became active in a new scheme for a Y. M. C. A. and prominent citizens solicited a \$100,000 fund with which to build and equip a new structure. The location was selected on 4th and Jersey, S. W. corner, and a beautiful building meets the eye of the traveler as he rides over the city.

The Y. W. C. A. is meeting the needs of the time in smaller way in rented rooms on the west side of the Square. This was organized in February, 1905, and is supported by donations and subscriptions from the people as it is not yet in a position to entirely support itself. It is doing a good work and hopes in time to also own its own building. It is controlled by a board of managers, all ladies, of wide capabilities and active and zealous in their work.

Quincy Historical Society was organized in 1896. Its object was to gather up all that relates to the history of Quincy and vicinity and to provide a safe place to keep and deposit all books and pictures, documents and relics of every sort pertaining hereto. Some years later the Society bought the home of Governor Wood on South 12th street which is now known as the Historical Building to which were removed all the relics, etc., belonging to the Society. The place is furnished with old mahogany and rare pieces of furniture of the style of Governor Wood's time and earlier and a caretaker lives there and looks after it. It is well worth one's while to visit this place for it tends to convince one that America too is making history with her years. It was the Historical Society that located the boulder in Washington Park on the spot where the debate between Douglas and Lincoln took place in the memorable times before the war. So much for our public and semipublic buildings and philanthropic and kindred institutions, but it would hardly be fair to pass over the work of some of the fraternal orders. Most prominent of all is the Masonic Temple situated on the S. W. corner of 5th and Jersey, one block East of the Y. M. C. A. In July, 1910, the corner stone of the beautiful Masonic Temple was laid and the men responsible for that building watched the laying of each stone and brick as it grew to the perfection of their hearts desire some there were among the brethren who not only refused to give toward the enterprise, but were knockers as well and kept many from contributing who would otherwise have done so, but the big hearted ones won out and today Quincy has, so visiting Masons claim, one of the finest temples in the State, a joy to the eye and beauty to the city. Others claim and with truth that it was the Temple building that put Quincy on the map, so to speak, and the Y. M. C. A. and the Armory soon followed.

One of the sight-seeing places of Quincy is the Soldiers' Home. After quite a contest as to location, a number of cities seeking it, the committee decided the matter in favor of Quincy, December, 1885, and bought a tract of land (140 acres) lying just north of the city. Since that time additions have been bought of about 80 acres, contracts were

let for the various buildings under the first amount of money appropriated for the time in May, 1886, and it was opened for the reception of members in March, 1887. In 1903, the north Fifth Street car line was extended into the Home grounds following the main drive to the headquarters building and a small but well built station was provided. This has been a great convenience to the lame and feeble members who otherwise could not have left the grounds, as it saves a walk of half a mile or more. It has also been a good thing for the company in the returns from increased traffic.

Quincy has had its ups and downs like all cities during this period. Epidemics and storms and deplorable accidents, all came to us, as they are bound to come to all cities, but the city pulled itself together and struck out again to grow and become larger and greater than ever and so we will leave it with great prospects and a hope that it may all come true.

MRS. ANNIE M. PORTER ELDRED.

Read at Mrs. A. W. Turner's, May, 1913.

CLASS POEM (1912), ALTON, ILLINOIS, HIGH SCHOOL.

(By Blanche Peters.)

Slowly the sun to the westward
 Had sunk in a golden blaze,
 Radiant the sky in the distance
 Glowing a crimson maze.

Over the sky gleamed golden bars,
 Soft and mellow and tinted.
 Over the land, a fairy veil
 Of haze, from the river glinted.

There, on the eastern shore, tall crags
 With their faces stony and gray
 Now turned toward the vanishing sun,
 Bidding farewell to the day.

From time worn rifts along their sides
 Were hanging ivy and mosses
 Crowned were they by evergreen trees,
 And long, thick waving grasses.

They seemed as faces of ancient gods
 Of sublime, majestic mold,
 Or as Grecian sculptors carved
 Their laurel crowned heroes of old.

Silent, the river flowed beneath
 To its mighty ocean home
 Bringing the leaves and the driftwood
 Lightly tossing the foam.

A riotous beautiful golden flow
 When kissed by the sun's last beam
 Or, lighted by Nocturne's stately lamp
 Refulgent with silver gleam.

The mighty and grand Mississippi
 Onward and onward through time,
 The "Father of Waters," indeed,
 Sullen, relentless, sublime.

Twilight was stealthily creeping on,
 Softly the night wind was sighing,
 While out on the river's bosom
 All traces of day lay dying.

Beautiful nature was silent all,
 Save sounds of water lapping,
 The insects' monotonous hum,
 Or wing of the night bird flapping.

Out on the edge of a stony crag,
 Stood blithely a maiden fair,
 Over the river her wand'ring eyes
 Were searching for lover there.

Then out of the purple shadows
 That crept over hill and stream
 Came flashing the glint of an oar,
 Came brightly the ripple's gleam.

Steadily on came the boatman,
 While tiny waves rose and sank,
 Grated the bark on the pebbles,
 Lightly he leaped to the bank.

Scarce, had he drawn up his birch bark
 From out of the plashing tide,
 Scarce, had he answered her light halloo
 Till glowing he reached her side.

There were sweet words and soft laughter
 But conscious were each of each
 Nor knew they of danger lurking
 Nor of dusky forms on the beach.

Till a wild halloo reached their ears
 Followed by swift hissing dart,
 But, swifter than arrow, the maiden
 Sprang, shielding her lover's heart.

And into her own soft bosom
 Sank deeply her father's shaft;
 Then, catching the swaying maiden
 The lover defied his craft.

One instant, in calm defiance
 They poised on the crag's stone edge,
 Another, and into the space beyond
 Together leaped over the ledge.

Slowly a crescent, the queenly moon
 Creeps over the willows high
 And silvery white the early stars
 Are gleaming in river and sky.

And far out there in the moonlight,
 With its vigil just begun,
 A monument stately guards the spot*
 Where love and bravery won.

* Lover's Leap at Alton.

Thus, are our yesterday's stories told
 Of bravery, faith and love;
 To-day, the Infinite Spirit of Peace
 Views changeless the scene from above.

The same bright sunset and golden haze
 The same gray crags, cold and sheer
 The same broad river and sandy beach,
 Though another race is here.

Another race and a hero
 As brave as the ones of old
 Has left his life's written story
 In shining letters of gold.

Who contrasted slavery's crushing blight,
 With freedom's most sacred way,
 Striving for broader knowledge
 To light up a future day.

"For greater love hath no man
 Than to give his life for his brother"
 And greater hero is not found
 Than he who would lift another.

And pointing its mission skyward
 With its vial just begun,
 A monument, stately, guards the spot,†
 Where Lovejoy's bravery won.

Then, point to these youths and maidens
 Of the class of Nineteen-twelve
 These very deeds are our birthright,
 With pride let the bosom swell.

To-day as our feet reluctant
 Stand ready for destiny's call,
 We should feel we can meet the future
 With a spirit to conquer all.

To-day in pride let us point
 And through all the future years
 To the days of our dear old High School
 With its mixture of joys and cares.

To the hearts and the hands that have led us
 That have stored our memory's shelves
 That have taught us higher and nobler things
 That have lifted us out of ourselves.

To the days when fun would creep inside
 And we sat a giggling set
 When we scattered lessons far and wide,
 While youth and joy and frolic met.

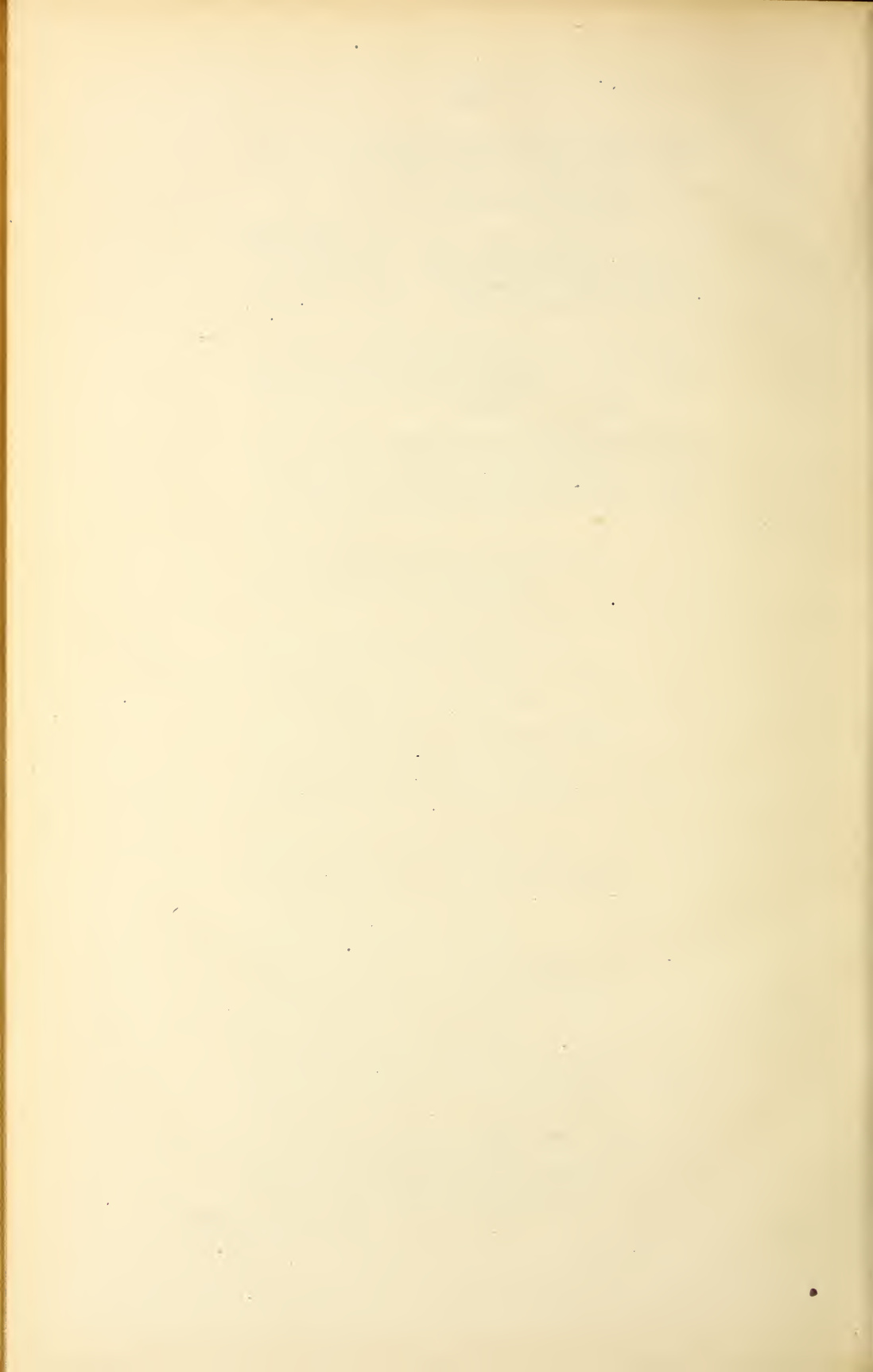
† Lovejoy Monument at Alton.

To the days when we won the victory
By firmness, patience and love,
To the days when we trust an Angel
Recorded our efforts above.

May the treasures we've gleaned in High School
Lead on to the highest call
To sacrifice self for another
To lives of service to all.

God aid us in years that are coming,
And guard the places we'll fill,
Clothe us with love, hope and courage
To faithfully do Thy will.

And then as our days are closing,
As we count the victories won,
May a beautiful shaft of gleaming white
Be built of the deeds we've done.



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